UNEQUAL SPACES:

Segregation and School Modernization in Raleigh, North Carolina 1920-1964

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Hutchins Landfair

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Thesis Committee:
Richard Guy Wilson, Chair
Sheila Crane
Burak Erdim

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School of Architecture
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

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Introduction

The mid-twentieth century was a period of remarkable change in every corner of American life. The post-World War II boom led to rapid expansion of cities across the country. As many cities grew the racial dynamics that had been embodied in their urban form were often reasserted in new ways, thus contributing to the rise of increasingly race-conscious politics—both for and against racial equality. In many cases, this urban expansion was marked by the proliferation and diffusion of modernist architectural idioms, yet few architectural historians have attempted to link the development and character of the built environment, particularly as it relates to popularization of modern architecture, with the civil rights movement or the issues of race with which it dealt. There are several reasons why this might be the case. First, many of the most visible examples of segregation took place in the South—an area often overlooked in the history of Mid-Century Modern Architecture. Second, flashpoint moments like those in Little Rock and Selma have often shaped popular perception of integration in the South as singular incidents of racial conflict. As such, the idea that architecture—a field inherently slow to respond—shaped or was shaped a movement rooted in protest may not be readily apparent. In reality the history of segregation is much less clearly delineated and often takes place at the scale of the city and the pace of urban development. Such is the case of Raleigh, North Carolina, where the struggle for racial equality was materialized in the development of the city over the course of several decades.

This research will explore the development of racially defined communities by examining the discriminatory methods of school planning and design in order to illustrate that the planning of schools of Raleigh from the 1920's through the mid century was used as a method of increasing segregation at the scale of the city, and furthermore to demonstrate that the perception and implementation of a modernist aesthetic was not uniform. While Raleigh's public

schools will be the primary focus of this research, they must be viewed as part of a larger urban context. These schools are integral in defining a sense of identity in the communities they serve, and as such, the domestic and commercial architecture of these communities will also be evaluated in relation to the schools.

Raleigh is a particularly interesting case study for exploring this topic for a number of reasons. In many ways Raleigh typifies the post-war American city, particularly within the South. Like other cities across the South, Raleigh was expanding rapidly due to urban migration in response to new economic opportunities. As the city expanded, racial separation was heightened by the construction of sprawling suburbs defined along racial lines first established in the 1920's. There are also many ways in which Raleigh stands out as a unique example. First, Raleigh is the State Capital of North Carolina, giving the city a greater civic function and political identity. Second, as home to Shaw University, St. Augustine's College, and North Carolina State College, Raleigh was a hub of higher education. The presence of Shaw and St. Augustine's helped attract young aspiring Black students, who in many cases stayed in the city for their subsequent careers, thus helping to establish a large base of well-educated Black professionals who helped make the city what it is today.[1] These schools were also important factor in developing protest movements against racial inequalities—including the establishment of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Shaw in 1961. Also of great importance to this study was the establishment of the School of Design at North Carolina State in 1949. The School of Design became a hotbed of progressive architecture attracting faculty and

[1] Richard Mattson. "The Evolution of Raleigh's African-American Neighborhoods in the 19th and 20th Centuries." Architectural Survey Report. North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (Raleigh, November 1988): 35

lecturers from around the world. The School of Design would become an instrumental force in defining the architecture that would develop during the post-war building boom.

While scholarship on the issue of race and modern architecture remains lacking, there are a few historians whose work has been instrumental in this research. Dianne Harris's *Little White Houses* examines the "iconography of whiteness" in the textual and visual representations of mid-century domestic architecture.[2] Her description of the "spatial contours of exclusion and privilege" as it relates to domestic architecture was useful in exploring how the ideas of privacy and gaze may have affected the planning of various schools. The work of Margret Ruth Little, the preeminent scholar of Raleigh's Modern Architecture, has also been essential to this study. In particular, her essay, "Getting the American Dream For Themselves", deals with issues of race and domestic architecture in the development of middle-class African American suburbs in East Raleigh.[3] Indeed, it was Little's work who inspired this study to begin with. However, issues of race in the built environment are not confined to the realm of domestic architecture.

Scholarship on race and institutional architecture, such as schools, is perhaps even scarcer. Jennifer Baughn's work on the consolidation and standardization of schools in rural Mississippi is among the few examples that deal with the topic of race and the architecture of public schools.[4] Another useful example is Amy Weisser's discussion of a number of segregated schools as a preservation issue in her essay "Marking Brown."[5] In addition to compare a number of white and Black schools—thus providing some insight in how they may or may not be

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[2] Dianne Suzette Harris, *Little White Houses : How the Postwar Home Constructed Race in America* (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 2013): 1

[3] Margret Ruth Little "Getting the American Dream for Themselves: Postwar Modern Subdivisions for African Americans in Raleigh, North Carolina." *Buildings and Landscapes* 19 no. 1 (Spring 2012): 73-86

[4] Jennifer V. Opager Baughn. "A Modern School Plant: Rural Consolidated Schools in Mississippi, 1910-1955." *Buildings & Landscapes* 19 no. 1 (Spring 2012): 43-72

[5] Amy Weisser. "Marking Brown v. Board of Education: Memorializing Separate but Unequal Spaces." In *Sites of Memory: Perspectives on Architecture and Race,* edited by Craig E. Barton (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001)

differentiated—Weisser also establishes the importance of these schools in serving as mnemonic devices in the public understanding of the history of race in the United States. More directly related to the subject of Raleigh, Karen Benjamin deals with the planning of Raleigh's schools directly, and provides much of the framework for the discussion of urban scale segregation for this study "Suburbanizing Jim Crow."[6] Yet Benjamin does not address the designs of the schools or the communities in which they are located.

Understanding particularities of Raleigh's social and political makeup is essential to the success of this study. Dr. Wilmoth A. Carter's *The Urban Negro in the South* provides a fascinating period sociological study of Raleigh's Black commercial hub, East Hargett Street.[7] Her analysis of the social and subsequently spatial aspects of the segregated city offers a unique view of the increasingly separate world of Black Raleigh. More recently, Linda Harris Edminsten and Linda Simmons-Henry's collection of oral histories and architectural analysis give a vivid description of life in Raleigh's Black communities leading up to the war.[8] The stories they tell were foundational to the narrative established in the first chapter, and by extension the following two. Another important source on the history of Raleigh's Black communities, especially in regards the mid-twentieth century, comes from Richard Mattson's report prepared for the State Historic Preservation Office, "The Evolution of Raleigh's African-American Neighborhoods in the nineteenth and twentieth Centuries."[9] Of particular importance is his assertion that Black neighborhoods in the early twentieth century played two seemingly contradictory roles as both symbolic "prisons" and "fortresses." While on one hand the forced marginalization of these communities was the materialization of oppression, the isolation also

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[6] Benjamin, Karen. "Suburbanizing Jim Crow" *Journal of Urban History* 38 no. 2 (2012): 225-246
[7] Wilmoth A. Carter, *The Urban Negro in the South. New York: Vantage Press,* 1961
[8] Linda Simmons-Henry and Linda Harris Edmisten, *Culture Town: Life in Raleigh's African American Communities*, Raleigh, N.C.: Raleigh Historic Districts Commission, 1993
[9] Mattson, Richard. "The Evolution of Raleigh's African-American Neighborhoods"

created a kind of safe haven for institutions aimed at the promotion of the social, physical, and economic welfare of the Black community.[10] This dual identity is important to acknowledge because it recognizes the State's role in creating segregated communities, but also recognizes the agency of these communities in their ability to make these places their own through internal social practice.

A more critical history of the politics of desegregation was provided by Jack McElreath's dissertation, *The Cost of Opportunity*, and Sarah Theusen's *Greater Than Equal*.[11] Theusen in particular describes in easily comprehensible terms the complex legal realities, and delineates what is sometimes a complex timeline of seemingly disparate events into a clearly articulated narrative. William Chafe's *Civilities and Civil Rights* from 1980 deals with the similar situation in Greensboro, but is useful in developing an idea of the political culture of North Carolina. Chafe describes the white progressive movement in North Carolina as being guided by a *progressive mystique*. He argues that this mode of progressivism is based on "civility as the value that should govern all relationships between people."[12] This view of civility is rooted in the culture of the elite gentile class, but included aspects of progressivism such as avoidance of conflict, hospitality towards new ideas, and a so-called "community responsibility towards the Negro."[13] The *progressive mystique* nominally supports typically progressive ideals, but ultimately values order more than justice. As a result, the appearance of progressive values is considered of greater importance than actually pursuing societal change.

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[10] ibid, 30
[11] Sarah Caroline Thuesen, *Greater than Equal : African American Struggles for Schools and Citizenship in North Carolina, 1919-1965*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013
[12] William H. Chafe. *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980): 8
[13] ibid

The aim of the *progressive mystique* was to depict North Carolina as more urbane and sophisticated than neighboring southern states largely in order to lure new industry to the state. As Chafe describes it, the leaders of the state "recognized the value of maintaining an image of moderation and promoted the view that the state was 'on the move' in the direction of racial tolerance. As a result, North Carolina has been portrayed by political scientists and lay observers alike as an 'inspiring exception to southern racism."[14] By that measure, the mystique was very successful as new industry flooded into the state in the first half of the twentieth century. By other measures, North Carolina was among the least progressive states in the country. Through the late 1940's North Carolina had the lowest rate of unionization in the country, ranked nearly last in per capita manufacturing salaries (45th in per capita income), and near the bottom of public support per pupil in schools.[15] It will be argued here that Raleigh's public schools were an extension of this brand of white southern progressivism, creating an image of progressive values while simultaneously reasserting the values of the segregationist South.

While the legality of racially segregated school has been long settled, the many issues of the Civil Right Movement are still present today. Numerous school districts across the country remain largely divided along race lines, and the inequality of services for urban versus suburban schools is still a persistent matter. In Raleigh, many of the schools that were built with the explicit intention of excluding students based on their race are still in use today, and the results of their planning continues to define the social and demographic map of city. It is important to remember the legacy of those were excluded and their struggle for acceptance, and to fully do so it is necessary to understand spatial dimension of segregated schools and their place within the urban environment of Raleigh.

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[14] ibid, 4
[15] ibid, 5

Chapter 1

Consolidation and Separation:

1920-1945

While the post-war boom of Raleigh was its greatest period of growth, it was not its first. The city had been consistently growing in population and land area since the start of the twentieth century. With each stage of growth, patterns of development along racial lines were shifted and in many ways expanded. Despite an overall decline in terms of its percentage of the city's total population, Raleigh's Black population more than tripled from 1900 to 1950—going from 5,721 to 17,871.[16] The first major jump in population occurred between 1920-1930—from 8,544 to 12,575. Over that same decade, the city had its smallest increase in land area since the turn of the century. As such there were substantial building efforts across the city during this time confined within a relatively dense area, including an extensive campaign of school construction. This chapter explores the urban growth of Raleigh and its Black neighborhoods by examining the planning and location of a number of new schools during the 1920's, as well as a few select public projects leading up to the post-war period. Before delving into the schools, it is necessary to establish an understanding of Raleigh's Black residential and commercial areas.

Through the 1940's there were numerous Black neighborhoods of diverse character, type, and functions. As Dr. Wilmoth A. Carter describes, "You didn't have a high concentration of Blacks in any one area… It seemed to me that geographically the pattern was one of dispersion."[17] In *Culture Town*, Linda Simmons-Henry and Linda Harris Edmisten explore the history of Raleigh's Black communities through oral histories and architectural surveys. While not exhaustive, they identify and discuss at least nine different neighborhoods: Method, Oberlin, Nazareth, East Raleigh, South Park, Fourth Ward, College Park, Idlewood, and Smoky Hollow. Unlike other burgeoning urban areas in the South, such as Atlanta, laws regarding residential

[16] Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung. "Historical Census Statistics On Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For Large Cities And Other Urban Places In The United States" (Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005): Table 34

[17] Wilmoth A. Carter, as quoted by Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town*, xvii

segregation were comparatively loose. As one resident interviewed by Carter put it, "When it came to where people lived, Negroes and whites bought and lived in the same areas. Where they saw land they wanted and they could pay for they got it."[18] Despite the geographically diffuse nature of the city's Black community, Black commercial activity was increasingly consolidated. By the 1920's East Hargett Street had become "the center of everything in the Black community."[19] However, the middle to upper-middle class Black business owners who operated on Hargett lived virtually anywhere in the city they wanted.

The neighborhoods of Oberlin Village and East Raleigh-South Park are of particular interest for the scope of this research. Located northwest of Raleigh, Oberlin was one of the first of two free Black communities in the area following the Civil War. Oberlin Village was established in 1866 as a new free Black community in an undeveloped area northwest of Raleigh through the cooperative effort of Black and white citizens (Fig. 1.1). Shortly after its founding, the Oberlin's residents established their own public school in 1869. Initially run out of a Methodist church, it wasn't until 1882 that a small one-room schoolhouse was built to house the school. The small wooden schoolhouse was replaced in 1916 by a new brick building containing eight classrooms and a basement auditorium (Fig. 1.2). Even at this early stage a modest sense of modernization can be seen in its relatively austere exterior, with virtually no ornamentation, and bands of large windows that punctuate its masonry walls.

For comparison, the city also built a new white school, Murphey, on the east side of downtown the same year (Fig. 1.3). Unlike Oberlin, Murphey is distinctly classical, with its slightly projecting wings, decorative cornice, and ornate door surround (Fig. 1.4). Both Oberlin and Murphey predate the larger effort to modernize the schools in the 1920's, making them

[18] Carter, *Urban Negro in the South,* 147
[19] Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town*, xviii

useful comparison for schools that followed. The pattern established here persists through the entire segregation era. Indeed, for every new black school, there would also be at least one, though often several, new higher quality white schools. While initially self-sufficient and rural, the area around Oberlin was subsumed by Raleigh's growth.

Located just east of downtown, East Raleigh is a large area that is a consolidation of a number of smaller communities including Battery Heights, Chavis Heights, Cotton Place, St. Petersburg, and Third Ward. Adjacent to East Raleigh, South Park developed in close proximity with Shaw University. Unlike the isolated rural growth pattern of Oberlin, East Raleigh-South Park developed in direct response to economic and educational resources afforded by the more urban portion of Raleigh. The development of East Raleigh-South Park near downtown created the circumstances that allowed for the consolidation of a district of Black businesses. In the early twentieth century, Wilmington Street was the primary location of Black-owned businesses, but as the 1920's approached, white property owners on Wilmington began refuse to lease their buildings to Black entrepreneurs.[20] As a result, Black business owners took their businesses to East Hargett Street, which was quickly developed (Fig. 1.5).

East Hargett Street is the subject of Carter's book from 1961 titled *The Urban Negro in the South*—an in-depth sociological study into the complexity of Black commercial activity in the urban south. She writes that "Although the group life of the Negro tends to be dispersed through several sub-areas, [Negro Main Streets] tends also to become functionally centralized through its focus on the separation existing between the negro and the white worlds. It is this factor of which the Negro Main Street is symbolic…"[21] East Hargett extends east from downtown, only one block down from the capital building and four short blocks from Chavis

[20] Mattson, "Evolution of Raleigh's African American Neighborhoods," 22
[21] Carter, *Urban Negro in the South*, 143

Heights and Shaw University. This location places East Hargett in close proximity to the resources of downtown, while still being near several Black communities. Unlike Wilmington Street, many of the buildings on Hargett were built and owned by the Black business owners. Among the most prolific builders on East Hargett was C. E. Lightner (Fig. 1.6). He came to Raleigh from South Carolina to attended Shaw University around 1901, and after graduating he became a builder. Despite having had no formal training, he drew the construction documents himself. In addition to building many of the most elaborate colonial-type homes in the Black community, Lightner also built the Arcade Hotel, or Lightner Arcade, in 1921 (Fig. 1.7). In the words of his son and Raleigh's first Black mayor, Clarence E. Lightner Jr., "The Arcade was the only place our people had to stay between, really, Washington and Florida."[22] As such, the Lightner Arcade became the social hub of the Black community, attracting performers such as Duke Ellington, Cab Calloway, and many others. The Lightner Building was also home to the first Negro Education office as organized by John William Ligon, former principle of Crosby-Garfield and the namesake of a new high school in the 1950's.[23]

Despite the increasingly Black ownership and patronage of businesses on East Hargett, one of the city's first white public schools, Thompson Elementary, was also located on the street. Thompson was first established in 1907, but its facilities were among many deemed unsuitable in the 1920's. Across the State calls for school consolidation, which had been around since the turn of the century, were finally realized. The consolidation movement was not aimed at solving the divide between White and Black students, but primarily dealt with the disparity between rural and urban schools. However, with the expanding urban population due to the interwar collapse of the cotton economy, urban areas such as Raleigh needed new larger schools as much as the rural

[22] Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town,* 61
[23] ibid, *86*

areas. The quality of schools took on a strong moral component to many of the consolidation movement's most vocal proponents. As one prominent Raleigh businessman described it in a letter to the *Raleigh Times*, "The school buildings as they are now area reflect upon the city and her people… The progress of the city is at stake, for I verily believe that people who come to look around and locate here would seriously consider some other place if they were to examine all of our school buildings."[24] This statement embodies in many ways Chafe's notion of the *progressive mystique*. While it expresses a typically progressive concern regarding the importance of quality schools, it also implicitly equates progress with economic development. Within this view, the motivation for new schools was to make Raleigh a desirable place for someone (or some business) to locate. Perhaps it was this type of sentiment that drove many of Raleigh's influential citizens to support $2.3 million in school building programs during the 1920's, the aim of which was to modernize the entire school system of the city, which ultimately resulted in more than doubling the total number of schools.[25]

In addition to building new facilities for most of the existing schools, there were four new elementary schools—three white and one Black—and three new high schools—two white and one Black. The rate of school construction during this time led state officials to issue standardized plans and programs for schools starting in 1923. As previously mentioned, Thompson Elementary on East Hargett was one of the existing schools that received a new building. In 1923, the eight-room wooden structure was moved to the rear of the site to make way for the new facilities—an eleven-room brick building with offices, a library, auditorium, gymnasium, and cafeteria (Fig. 1.8). In many ways Thompson is indicative of all of the schools

[24] James R. Young, letter to the editor, Raleigh Times, April 2, 1922. As quoted in Benjamin, "Suburbanizing Jim Crow", 232
[25] Benjamin, "Suburbanizing Jim Crow," 232

built during this time—a two-story brick structure with a symmetrical façade flanked by two shallow wings with some type of historicizing detail. Thompson in particular was in the Jacobean Revival, designed by Atlanta architect, Christopher Gadsden Sayre who designed many of the city's most elaborate schools of the day. [26] Thompson's most unique features are its decorative stepped cornice and concrete quoins, which are repeated in the framing of the windows. Yet Thompson was not quite the most impressive elementary school the city built at this time. That distinction belongs to the Wiley Elementary, another of the existing schools to receive a new building. Unlike Thompson though, Wiley was also moved to a new location.

The original Wiley School was housed in a two-story wooden building from 1900 in the downtown area on Morgan and West (Fig. 9). Its new building, also designed by Sayre, was located on St. Mary street was relatively far to the north and west of Downtown located near the recently planned though still unbuilt Cameron Village community. The moving of Wiley to this less central location is reflective of the general trend of school construction at this time, placing most of the new schools at the edges of the city. The new building was a three-story steel frame structure clad in a brick Tudor Revival façade marked by decorative concrete relief panels (Fig. 1.10).[27] It contained a total of sixteen classrooms, offices, auditorium, library, cafeteria, and gymnasium. Wiley was one of five schools built using a $1 million bond issue, but was considerably more expensive than the others, coming in at $264,225.56 when it opened in 1924.[28]

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[26] Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town,* 106

[27] Sarah A. Woodard and Jennifer F. Martin, "Architectural Survey of Wake County Public Schools Built Before 1956" Wake County Historic Preservation Commission: Raleigh, North Carolina (March 2002): 20

[28] Jennie M. Barbee, *Historical Sketches of the Raleigh Public Schools, 1876-1941-1942*. (Raleigh, N.C. : Barbee Pupils' Association, 1943): 47

Sayre also designed one of the most significant schools in Raleigh during this period: Washington Graded and High School—the first Black high school in the city. Prior to the establishment of the High School, most of the city's Black residents would pursue their education further at Shaw or St. Augustine—both offered high school classes at the time—while others left Raleigh to attend boarding schools.[29] Many had hoped that the city would build an entirely new Black high school, but instead the city decided to relocate and expand the existing Washington elementary (Fig. 1.11). The existing school had been started by missionary group based in New York who worked with professors at Shaw University—the oldest historically Black college in the South.[30] Unlike any of the White Schools, the new Washington School housed all grades from elementary through high school. As a result, the new building was one of the largest schools in the city, containing 30 classrooms, an auditorium, cafeteria, and library, but no gymnasium. The school was nonetheless quickly outgrown as an additional fourteen rooms were built in the form of a new southern wing in 1927, which also allowed for the separation between elementary and high school students.[31] The new Washington was three-story brick structure, lacking the steel frame that was used at Wiley (fig 1.12). Its Tudor revival façade shares many similarities with Wiley—the castellated cornice, and decorative panels around the entrance—but overall is considerably more restrained in the application of ornament. However, when compared with the Oberlin School, Washington's façade is almost ostentatious.

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[29] Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town,* 105

[30] Barbee, *Historical Sketches of the Raleigh Public Schools,* 47
This was a general trend among many of the black schools across the state. They would start as a privately established school, most often in affiliation with a religious institution, but would eventually be incorporated into the State's public schools with new facilities. Where the previous facilities had been developed out of the community, often attached to churches, the new structures would be virtually identical to any of the white schools.

[31] Barbee, *Historical Sketches of the Raleigh Public Schools,* 42

While many were frustrated that the city chose to expand an existing school rather than build an entirely new one, the problem was further aggravated by the location, only one block away from the city's southern limit.[32] Middle-class African Americans had been proposing a new public school in the College Park and Idlewild neighborhoods near St. Augustine College since 1910. While to a degree the selection of the sites for the new schools were driven by current patterns of development, they were also used to expedite the development of racially segregated suburbs by placing schools in residential areas with racially discriminatory covenant agreements. The location at the southern perimeter of the city was also problematic, as the state owned all of the land to the south, essentially creating a barrier to further development. As a result, the type of suburban residential growth that occurred around similarly decentralized white schools was prevented, thus curtailing the growth of more Black suburbs. As Karen Benjamin argues, while the locations of the schools were driven by residential development, "a school building program of this magnitude also acted as a catalyst for white suburbanization and drag on Black suburbanization."[33]

A few years after the completion of Washington High School, the city held a competition for the design of a new white high school—later named Needham Broughton High—intended to consolidate the existing high schools into one massive structure. The site chosen for this project was to the west of downtown at the edge of a historically Black community known as Oberlin Village, near recently relocated Wiley Elementary. The proposed location of this school immediately drew sharp criticism from the residents of Oberlin Village, but many white residents also complained about the new site. They felt the location was too far removed from downtown for the only white high school in the city. Even some ardent segregationists felt the location was

[32] Benjamin, "Suburbanizing Jim Crow," 233
[33] ibid, 232

problematic, including Clarence Poe, member of the school board and publisher of *The Progressive Farmer* (now known as *Southern Living*).[34] Poe's objection likely had self-serving ulterior motive, as he owned land on the eastern side of the city, which he hoped to develop into a new white suburban community. He knew that the construction of a consolidated white high school would fuel real estate development in the surrounding area, which is exactly what Broughton did.

Indeed, the location was not based on existing residential development, but was instead proposed to bolster suburban development in that direction. The recommendation for this location came from the Chamber of Commerce, who had three unelected members advising the board of education.[35] With the city's only white high school located to the west of downtown, the developers from the Chamber of Commerce aimed to guide new white suburban development. Where the racial map of Raleigh was once fairly intermingled, with the placement of new schools the board of education—and the representatives from the Chambers of Commerce—were essentially charting out a pattern of segregated development that the city would follow for decades to come.

Regardless of the early white opposition to the location of Broughton, upon completion it was widely praised. As the *Raleigh Times* declared: "Built on a site that was rejected and generally criticized by the general public when it was chosen for the high school, the building, one of the most beautiful in the city, is destined to be the pride of the city."[36] The winning entry was a massive Lombard Revival building, whose long horizontal façade is punctuated by a large

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[34] Poe was married to the daughter of Governor Charles B. Aycock, and played a role in his late 19th century white supremacy campaign. Poe had argued in his magazine that the Southern Countryside should be segregated "so that white farmers could create a 'great rural civilization' without the hindrance of the 'inferior race." Benjamin, "Suburbanizing Jim Crow," 233

[35] Benjamin, "Suburbanizing Jim Crow," 232

[36] As quoted by Benjamin, "Suburbanizing Jim Crow," 237

central clock tower, designed by William H. Deitrick (Fig. 1.13). Like Wiley, Broughton was a steel frame building, but instead of the typical red brick cladding its facades was covered in local stone, granite, orange brick, and cast concrete relief panels. Broughton was unquestionably the largest commission that Deitrick had received up until this point, but Broughton was only a small part of Deitrick's overall impact on the design of North Carolina's public schools.

Deitrick, the son of a building contractor, was born in Danville, Virginia. He graduated from Wake Forest University in 1916. Upon graduation Deitrick took a position as principal at Newnan High School in Georgia from 1916-17, likely providing him with valuable first hand experience in the world of education.[37] After a brief stint in the military during World War I, he attended Columbia from 1920-1924 to pursue a graduate degree. His architectural education was entirely classical, but while living in New York, Deitrick worked for renowned architect Raymond Hood.[38] In 1924, Deitrick was offered a position in Raleigh as a building supervisor, specifically in the area of school construction, in the firm of James A. Salter, the first and only "state architect" of North Carolina. However, soon after his arrival payments for his salary fell through. Deitrick was then offered a position as construction supervisor by the Raleigh Board of Education in 1925. During his time in this position he oversaw the construction of four of the nine new schools built in Raleigh during the 1920's.[39] Deitrick was finally licensed in Virginia in 1926, but would not be licensed in North Carolina until 1927. Upon licensure, Deitrick opened a one-man practice and soon entered his winning design for Broughton High, much to the chagrin

[37] Elizabeth Culbeston Waugh. "Firm in an Ivied Tower," *North Carolina Architect* (February 1971): 10
[38] Margret Ruth Little. *The Architecture of William Henley Deitrick & Associates from 1926-1960* (Raleigh, NC 1997): 1
[39] Schools included Boylan Heights Elementary, Fred A. Olds Elementary, Hugh Morson High, and an addition to Murphy Elementary. Waugh, "Firm in an Ivied Tower," 11

of the established local architects. In 1931 Deitrick opened an office at the intersection of Salisbury and Hargett street, only one block from East Hargett.[40]

In the following years of the Depression, Deitrick pursued a number of PWA and WPA commissions across the state. While many firms were collapsing from the stall in construction, Deitrick's firm actually grew to include two draftsmen. In 1937 Deitrick purchased an abandoned brick water tower from the city's water works to be the new office for his growing firm (Fig. 1.14). While a new office was needed for the firm, Deitrick viewed this as a preservation effort. Indeed, Deitrick was among the only architects in the State arguing for the preservation of North Carolina's historic structures. Up through this time Deitrick's designs were largely eclectic historical styles though some elements of Art Moderne and Art Deco were beginning to appear in his WPA projects. However, in 1938 the firm established itself as more than traditional with his design for a new Black elementary school, Crosby-Garfield Elementary.

Crosby-Garfield was built to replace an existing elementary school of the same name that had been destroyed by a fire (Fig. 1.15). Its austere form and asymmetrical plan represent a radical break from the schools of the past (Fig. 1.16-17). The emphasis on day lighting and outdoor play areas would become among the most important issues in school design in the years to come (fig 1.18). City officials, such as Mayor George A. Iseley, who asserted that Crosby-Garfield was "the most modern and up-to-date elementary school in North Carolina", lauded the design.[41] According to Ruth Little, Crosby-Garfield was "the first expression of International Style architecture in Raleigh."[42] Crosby-Garfield would become part of a larger development

[40] Waugh, "Firm in Ivied Tower", 12
[41] ibid, 14
[42] Little, *Architecture of William Henley Deitrick,* 27

including a park and a public housing development, known as Chavis Heights located adjacent to Shaw University (Fig. 1.19).

While the development of Chavis Heights involved a degree of "slum clearance" in the city's red-light district on Lenoir Street, for many of its residents it represented a significant improvement in housing stock.[43] Many of the residents moved to Raleigh from the surrounding rural areas in search of jobs, while others were likely forced to move there after being displaced by white development in the other parts of the city. By most accounts, the living conditions were good and the community was thriving. Deitrick's design was a series of ten long, entirely unornamented, two story yellow brick buildings featuring flat roofs and flat concrete awnings supported by cylindrical metal columns (Fig. 1.20). Each of the ten buildings consisted of twelve two-story townhouses, with rent ranging from $12-21 a month. While one might imagine that the stark appearance of Chavis Height would draw criticism, the *Raleigh Times and Observer* praised its austerity, stating, "with every construction dollar spent on lasing material rather than superficial decoration, they are to be softened by unstinted landscaping." [44] The landscape design was an essential component of the design, as green spaces between the buildings were to be viewed a community space (Fig. 1.21-22). Later examples of public housing have created the popular perception that these types of spaces between large housing structures were desolate landscapes, but in the case of Chavis Heights, it appears that these green spaces were lively areas where residents would tend to gardens and hang their clothes.

Just north of Chavis heights was Halifax Court, a white public housing community of nearly identical design, though it was considerably larger in scale (Fig. 1.23-24). While both developments reflected progressive ideas of housing, they are also the material embodiment of

[43] Simmons-Henry and Edmisten, *Culture Town,* 85
[44] *Raleigh News and Observer*, March 24, 1940—as quoted by Waugh, "Firm in Ivied Tower", 22

legal discrimination. After the waves of construction in the 20's, and new deal projects of the 30's, virtually no schools were built in the 1940's. It would not be until the early 1950's that a number of new schools were built. Nonetheless, Deitrick's firm continued to thrive on government and educational commissions, and by 1946 the firm employed 35 people.

Looking back at the schools of the 1920's, the early wave of modernization was a considerable improvement in school condition for all students regardless of race. Beginning with the new Oberlin School in 1916, every improvement to the condition of Raleigh's Black schools was followed by an even greater improvement to the white schools. As soon as Washington High School was completed plans for a newer, bigger white high school was already in the works. In the few cases where the city's Black schools were upgraded, they were consistently less ornate than the city's white schools of a similar period, even if only slightly. Despite the lesser ornamentation, the city's new Black schools could be viewed as to projecting an image of equality as with all of the school (with the exception of Broughton) being based on the same type of standardized plans. Even as the schools were beginning to approach the appearance of equality, the decisions by the school board to use their locations to further segregate the city undermined the image of progress. As modernist architecture began to take hold in the late thirties, a new architectural vocabulary was established that aimed to display a similarly progressive image, while continuing the same type of urban scale segregation and disparity of resources. It is within this legacy that the schools of the post-war era were built.

Chapter 2

Modernism Before *Brown*:

1945-1954

Broadly speaking there can be said to be two major themes in the development of post-war Raleigh: Modernization and increasingly race-conscious politics. While these two issues may appear to be relatively unconnected, they are in fact interrelated products of the city's unprecedented growth. Many new industries emerged in the numerous small-to-mid-sized urban areas of North Carolina creating new jobs that drew the rural population to cities across the State. Raleigh was amongst the most prominent centers for urban migration during this time, primarily because of its status as the seat of state government and as the home of six colleges.[45] From 1940 to 1950, the city's population ballooned from 46,897 to 65,679. The trend continued over the next decade, adding over 28,000 to that total by 1960.[46] Despite the doubling of the city's population, the overall density of the city declined, as the city limit area nearly tripled over the same period.[47] As such, the city's growth was primarily suburban in nature. As the built environment of the city was substantially modified so too was its social and political climate. This chapter will focus on the post-war development of Raleigh leading up to the 1954 Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*, looking at the rate of growth and modernization of the city and its schools as a political action.

Since the late 1930's school construction had come to a near standstill. The city's rapid growth combined with the pent-up demand, school construction once again came to the forefront in the late 1940's. However, persisting racial inequality in schools was also becoming a highly contested matter for early civil rights activists and as such school construction became a political matter. By the mid 1940's, by certain measures there was some equity between Black and white schools. Black and white teachers earned essentially the same pay (in some cases higher), held

[45] Carter, *The Urban Negro in the South,* 19
[46]Gibson and Jung. "Historical Census Statistics On Population Totals By Race." Table 34
[47] Margret Ruth Little, Sara Davis Lachenman, and Angie Clifton. "The Development of Modernism in Raleigh, 1945-1965." (Raleigh N.C.: North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, August 2006): 3

the same level of training, and used the same curricular guidelines.[48] By other result-oriented measures, such as high school graduation rates or achievement test scores, it was clear that inequality persisted. Yet these types of metrics were difficult to observe and the solutions were complex. There was one measure by which the inequality of Black and white schools could be readily seen: per pupil property values. In 1952, the Pittsburg Courier ran an article with the headline, "Differential Between the Races Wider Now than It Was in 1900," along side a table illustrating the divide. In 1900, the value of school property per white pupil was $4.79, for Black schools it was $2.75. By 1951, white per pupil property value was at $370.54, while Black school were at $170.91 per pupil, equating to a nearly $200 gap in value.[49] Indeed, North Carolina had become somewhat of a poster-child for the issue, featured as the subject of numerous articles in Black newspapers from cities such as Pittsburgh and Baltimore. With these kinds of numbers it is no surprise that equalization efforts were focused on more visible and material goals. This included primarily the improvement of Black school buildings, but also things such as access to bus transportation.

Over the years prior, busing had allowed for the consolidation of small white schoolhouses into larger, more efficient buildings in the rural parts of the state. Of the 4000 buses provided by the state in 1936-37 only 361 of them carried Black students.[50] Across the state, many Black schools were still small schoolhouses through the mid 1940's. As a result, nearly half of all schools in the state were for Black students while only 30% of the population was Black. Yet, in 1945 the state had only 38 accredited Black elementary schools, compared to

[48] Thuesen, *Greater than Equal,* 161
[49] *Pittsburg Courier*, "Differential Between the Races Wider Now than It Was in 1900" 1952
[50]ibid 163

679 for white students.[51] Thus the issue was not access to schools per say, but the conditions of the school buildings and quality of the education those schools provided.

The inequity of Black schools was pushed into the public debate with the student led protests in Lumberton on October 1, 1946. The students paraded down the small town's street with signs reading, "how can I learn when I'm cold?" and "Down with our school." The two schools in question, the Thompson Institute and Redstone, were the only two Black schools in the area, but were run as private institutions. The conditions of the schools were abysmal, leading to broad support for the protests, including from relatively conservative whites. As the *Raleigh Times and Observer* put it, "Ordinarily student strikes are not to be condoned… But in this case the difficulty is not in understanding why the students struck. What is hard to understand is why they ever started a school in such buildings..." The article went on to condemn the schools as a "disgrace to the state."[52] This response reflects much of the white progressive attitude towards Black education prior to *Brown*. There was a commonly held belief that equitable education was important, but ultimately secondary to the necessity to maintain a segregated society. From the mid-1940's up until 1954, very few Black or white progressives argued for integration, instead almost all saw equalization as a viable path to end racial discrimination.

In 1949, the issue came closer to Raleigh with the case of *Blue v. Durham Board of Education,* in which six pupils in Durham attempted to gain admission to the city's white schools citing specifically the quality of the education and school conditions. While they were unable to gain admittance until 1951, the decision was specifically limited to Durham. Regardless, it brought new urgency to the issue at the political level, and is sometimes called, "the starting gun

[51] ibid, 163
[52] As quoted in Thuesen, *Greater Than Equal,* 170

for the equalization."[53] For the white leaders of the State, providing evidence that schooling was equal across racial lines was essential to preserving a legally segregated system. As a result, a number of new, entirely modern schools were built in Raleigh during early 1950's. Before describing the schools that were built during this period of pre-*Brown* equalization, it is necessary to understand how the city as a whole was a experiencing a built revolution.

The patterns of segregation that were established by the school board in the 1920's were coming to fruition in the city's new developments. Among the most expansive developments was Cameron Village—the project of local real estate developer and prominent school board member, Willie J. York (fig 2.1). York hired Leif Valand, a New Jersey born, Pratt trained architect to be the principal designer for the project. First opened in 1949, Cameron Village was unlike anything ever built in the city. It was conceived of as a complete, almost-self contained community, with new apartments, single-family homes, shopping center, and school (Fig. 2.2). It filled a large area bounded to the southeast by Broughton High and to north and west by Oberlin. Indeed, Cameron Village is the direct product of the placement of Broughton High far from the downtown center of Raleigh. The shopping center, located just to the west of Broughton, seems today to be quite ordinary in its planning and appearance. At the time however, the clean-lined modernist store-fronts placed at the center of parking was a new type of commercial architecture (Fig. 2.3). The residential development of Cameron Village began with apartments in the area around Broughton and the Shopping Center. As time progressed, the core of the Cameron Village was filled with many single-family homes, bounded on each side by more apartments. The style of these houses varies, but the dominant style was that of mid-century modern with a few examples of ranch style homes (Fig. 2.4-5).

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[53] Thuesen, *Greater Than Equal*187

On the eastern side of the city, real estate developer school board member, Clarence Poe, had been planning a suburban community known as Longview Gardens since 1938 (Fig. 2.6). As discussed in the previous chapter, Poe, an adamant segregationist, had opposed the location of Broughton High on the western side of the city, because it would draw development away from his property on the east. Longview Gardens nonetheless grew into a sizable development over the course of several decades. Unlike Cameron Village, Longview Gardens was not based around a shopping center, nor did it feature surrounding apartment complexes. However, in 1948 a country club and golf course were built to the southern edge of the community, enticing a period of residential construction in the 1950's. It is not difficult to imagine that the sizable piece of land also served to guard against encroaching African American development, as the community was in close proximity to a number of Black communities to the north and west, including the larger East Raleigh-South Park. There was new construction in those areas too during the early 1950's.

Not too far from Longview Gardens, Deitrick's firm designed additions to the Chavis Heights and Halifax Court in 1951. The new buildings were very similar in design to the original, but possessed a slightly more refined sense of Modernist design. Each block was smaller and slightly offset from its neighboring block, but they were united in pairs as their flat roofs extend to create a covered space between each block (Fig. 2.7). This new design was the product of Matthew Nowicki, a internationally renown architect of his day who relocated to Raleigh to take a position as head of architecture at the new School of Design (SoD) at North Carolina State University.

Founded in 1949, the SoD quickly became one of the most prominent schools of modern architecture in the entire country. As Raleigh's foremost modernist architect at the time, Deitrick

advised the university to hire Henry Kamphoefner, then a professor at the University of Oklahoma, to be the school's first dean. Under the direction of Kamphoefner, the school attracted a number of prominent architects to teach at the school, as well as numerous guest lectures and professors. Many of the school's first professors were colleagues of Kamphoefner at Oklahoma, including Edward "Terry" Waugh, George Matsumoto, and George Fitzgibbons. Others were young architects eager to join the emerging program, such as G. Milton Small, who had just recently studied with Ludwig Mies van der Rohe at the Illinois Institute of Technology. Small and Nowicki are among the many SoD professors who worked for Deitrick's firm when first arriving in Raleigh. Indeed, it was one of Kamphoefner's main requirements of his faculty members that they also be practicing architects. This led to many of the professors to build some of Raleigh's most distinctive Modern architecture. The influx of new progressive architects in the city built upon an increasingly connected community of Raleigh's practicing architects, who in 1946 had formed the Raleigh Council of Architects. The council held weekly meetings to discuss their views with the goal of raising community awareness of their practices and work. Of particular note is the list of the organization's earliest officers, which included W.H. Deitrick, Albert Haskins, Marvin Johnson, and F. Carter Williams—all of whom play a major role in the realm of school construction. While the private homes of the faculty are likely the most discussed projects affiliated with the early SoD, it was their impact on the design of Raleigh's public schools that was arguably the most profound.

In 1949 the state assembly approved a spending measure of $50 million to improve school conditions across the state. In November that same year, no doubt seeing an opportunity, the SoD held a three-day "School Planning Institute" attended by over 175 architects and local

officials to promote the advantages of modern design in school planning.[54] They advocated for a more flexible framework for planning, rather than stock plans, and encouraged the use of more glass and less ornament. In the press coverage of the event by the *Raleigh News & Observer*, an image of Wakefield Negro School was run aside an image of Saarinen's acclaimed Crow Island Elementary School in Winnetka, Illinois (Fig. 2.8). The author laments the conditions of Wakefield, "where the enlightenment must be hampered by the lack of light."[55] Below those images was yet another famous school design of the day, Frank Lloyd Wright's chapel at Florida Southern College.

The inclusion of two prominent modern designs highlights the fact that modern school design was a national trend, and the schools in Raleigh were not far removed from that trend. That same year, the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction (DPI) hired Terry Waugh to be the architectural consultant in charge the new School Design Standards program. Waugh had in fact worked in Saarinen's firm around the period in which Crow Island Elementary was built, though it is not clear that he had any involvement in the design. While Waugh's time at the DPI lasted only one year due to his health, the work he initiated at the DPI had a lasting effect nonetheless. Rather than a set of rigid rules that produced uniform schools, the school design standards was a set of diagrams and construction details intended to act as a flexible framework, all with a distinctly modern character. It illustrated things such as how to detail a flat roof, ideal topographic and urban site conditions, and even busing diagrams (Fig. 2.9-11).

In contrast to the standardized plans and historicized brick boxes of the 1920's, the state began to embrace a modernist idiom as the default strategy for schools across the state. The

[54]Rudolph Pate. "North Carolina to Put Comfort Into School House Plans" *Raleigh New & Observer*, November 20, 1949, 1.
[55] ibid

School Design Standards as defined by Waugh in 1950 were updated in 1952, under the direction of Lawrence Enersen, a landscape architect who had worked with Waugh on the previous iteration, Marvin R.A. Johnson, a recent graduate of the GSD at Harvard. The new iteration bears many similarities to previous edition, however there were some changes. Where Waugh's School Design Standard's were focused more on intricate construction details, Enersen and Johnson's involved a greater focus on the process of school planning and what the role of the Division of School Planning was within it. It nonetheless reinforces similar modernist forms and diagrammatic conditions that Waugh proposed (Fig. 2.12-13). The creation of school design standards by a state agency that would affect local conditions across the state is to a degree centralizing the effort to improve, but there was also a great deal of emphasis against homogeneity: "Uniformity is not a goal to be compared with the virtues of individuality and imagination."[56] Despite the public debate regarding racial inequality that surrounded the state's public schools, neither of the iterations made any mention of race or segregation.

Between 1950-1954 there were a total of five new white schools built in Raleigh, all of which were designed in the modernist mode. The first and most widely publicized of these was Sherwood-Bates Elementary completed in 1951, located north of Cameron Village and Broughton on Oberlin road, just south of the new Carolina Country Club (Fig. 2.14). The school was designed by Milton Small while in Deitrick's firm, and was featured in Architectural Forum for its experimental day lighting system and innovative planning that was conceived by Matthew Nowicki before his tragic passing (Fig. 2.15).[57] The overall plan is roughly an L-Shape with one wing being dedicated to primary elementary and the other secondary (Fig. 2.16). Overhead

[56] North Carolina, Division of School Planning, and Lawrence A Enersen. *School Design*. (Raleigh, North Carolina: The Division, 1952): 5

[57] "Experimental School Tests Top-Lighted Classrooms" *Architectural Forum*, Feb. 1952 103-107

lighting in the primary classrooms was a combination of strip skylights and egg crate fluorescent fixtures (Fig. 2.17). This lighting configuration reduced the need for windows to provide light, thus room were oriented with their narrow ends facing the exterior wall and the interior corridor, thus allowing for shorter distances between classrooms for the smaller children.

Further west still, Lacy Elementary, designed by Terry Waugh, was completed in 1956. Unsurprisingly Waugh's design closely reflects the aims of the school design standards with its flat roof and ample natural light supplied by a band of clerestory windows (Fig. 2.18). Both Lacy and Sherwood-Bates served affluent white neighborhoods developing in the Northwest, where many of the SoD faculty where building their own homes. Not to be outdone, Longview Gardens Elementary was opened in 1953 to support Poe's affluent suburb (Fig. 2.19). It was designed by F. Carter Williams, a local architect and later an associate professor at the SoD. It too was brick faced, low-lying modernist building, though somewhat more compact than either Lacy or Sherwood-Bates (fig 2.20). These three schools are indicative of numerous white schools built during the 1950's in Raleigh and throughout Wake County. In addition to these new constructions, all of which were elementary schools, the city required additional space for its white high school students. Instead of building a new high school, the city instead built an addition on Broughton High in 1951, again designed by Deitrick. The addition to the rear of the building, while large, appears to maintain a low visibility, and is only modern in the sense that it avoids any ornamentation (Fig. 2.21). A very different approach was taken when designing the city's new Black high school.

In 1953, as deliberations around *Brown* were already beginning, Raleigh completed Ligon Jr.-Sr. High School. Ligon was built to replace Washington High, which was then converted back into an Elementary School. Designed by A.L. Haskins, who had worked for

Deitrick and was the chair of the State Building Code Council from 1950-1953, by some accounts Ligon was the most expensive school in state history, costing somewhere between 1-1.5 million dollars (Fig. 2.22-23).[58] The new building displays many of the same modern characteristics as the previously discussed white schools. Composed of a number of horizontally massed two-story components, they are arranged in relation to a long, centrally located unit, which contained classrooms and offices (Fig. 2.24). Off of this main unit were the gym and shops, library, cafeteria, and auditorium, each with as its building connected by covered walkways (Fig. 2.25). As with the other schools, the corridors where aligned along exterior walls which were extensively glazed (Fig. 2.26). The planning of Ligon as a series of functionally defined components is significantly different than the elementary schools of the same period. However, this is largely attributable to the needs of a high school. Unlike an elementary school, Ligon needed more specialized space for certain classes, such as chemistry, shop, and even a course in masonry (Fig. 2.27-28).

Raleigh's Black newspaper declared it "a picture of stupendous architecture [that] adds beauty and came to all the surrounding area." One student was quoted saying Ligon "was so clean and beautiful. It was such Change from Washington."[59] In covering the school's dedication, The *Raleigh News & Observer* described it as "handsome" and "modern" and included photo of smiling children waving a school flag in front of the new building with the caption, "cheers and a new school" (Fig. 2.29) [60] However, more recent scholarship has come to question not only the quality of the school's construction, but also the intention of the city's officials.

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[58] "Raleigh Unveils Modern Million-Dollar School." *The Baltimore Afro-American*, November 21, 1953, 18
"Ligon School Dedicated." *Raleigh New & Observer,* November 9, 1953, 24
[59] As quoted by Thuesen, *Greater than Equal* 215
[60] "Ligon School Dedicated." *Raleigh New & Observer,* November 9, 1953, 24

In 1969, a survey of Raleigh's schools found that Ligon's site was too small, but that the facilities were "good."[61] By the account of Jack McElreath, this was not widely known at the time the school was built. However, as Theusen points out, it was clear from the day Ligon opened that its curriculum would not equal that of Broughton, in terms of electives offered (especially in terms of professionally oriented classes).[62] Despite the broad recognition that Ligon was an improvement by the Black community, these shortcomings lead the Raleigh Citizen's Association—a prominent Black civic organization—to make a statement of their expectations: "nothing short of full equalization would satisfy the needs and the desires of the Negro citizens of Raleigh."[63]

The gap in quality that Ligon presented led McElreath to say "The choice to build a new high school for Black that was clearly not intended to meet state requirements while school desegregation cases were pending is a curious one." However, the decision is only curious if one assumes that it was immediately apparent that school was lacking in quality, and that the goal of the state's equalization was to meet a set of standards. As was previously discussed, equalization was concerned largely with material measures. While land area is a material assessment, it is not necessarily an easy means of comparison in terms of public perception. This is especially true considering the Broughton (which Ligon would be compared against) was of such dissimilar volumetric configuration that the comparative size of the site and the school becomes less legible. Because of this Broughton is not an entirely useful comparison for Ligon in terms of planning. While no new white High Schools were built in Raleigh in the 1950s, one was built just a few years later for the Wake County School district that may serve as a useful comparison.

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[61] Thuesen, *Greater than Equal*, 307
[62] idid, 216, 307
[63] As quoted in Thuesen, *Greater than Equal* 216

Designed by Deitrick in 1958, Garner High School was located in the small community of Garner located just south of Raleigh. Looking at the exterior of the two schools, there are some immediate similarities. In both cases their long, horizontal forms are clad in brick and lined with extensive glazing set back beneath dominating eaves that continue vertically by the extension of the terminating end walls (Fig. 2.30). Yet, there are many aspects that distinguish these two schools in terms of quality. By comparing the plot plans for the two schools, it is clear that Ligon's footprint take up considerably more of its site than Garner does, thus confirming the assertion of the aforementioned 1969 survey (Fig. 2.31). Indeed, Ligon was substantially larger with nearly 163,000 square feet of space, compared to Garner 50,000.[64] While this may cause one to believe that Ligon was a more spacious environment, this was not the case. Garner was intended to serve only 350 students, where Ligon would be supporting around three times as many students, if not more.[65] In addition to their respective spaciousness, the interior finishes of Garner appear to be of slightly higher quality (Fig. 2.32). It is however in their planning that the most significant difference between the schools becomes evident.

Where Ligon is planned in a largely linear configuration, with facilities located off of a central organizing axis, Garner is arranged around a large open court. Ligon is significantly more open to the surrounding environment, providing easy access from three sides (the fourth being a steeply sloping hill leading to an open field). Conversely, the planning of Garner, with its circular drive leading to a covered entrance on one side and open space on all others, defines a

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[64] According to a 1989 Civil engineer's plot plan of provided by the Wake County School System, Ligon's original buildings were a total of 162,982 ft^2. Garner Elementary was planned to have 50,171 ft^2. It should also be noted here that the square footage of Ligon included a gym, where as Garner did not have a gym. Thus, the amount of actual class room space per pupil at Ligon was "High School, Wake County, N.C." *Southern Architect* (November 1958): 12

[65] "High School, Wake County, N.C." *Southern Architect* (November 1958): 12
While no record of enrollment totals for Ligon was available, an estimated of at least 900 can be safely made based on the size of the school's 1955 graduating class (a total of 130), multiplied by the grades 6-12. "J.W. Ligon High School Graduates, Raleigh, N.C." *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, April 30, 1955, 28

clear orientation and sequence of access (Fig. 2.33). The clarity of access and cloistering of recreational space together create a sort of socially impenetrable space, whereas Ligon was planned to be not only open to, but also actively engaged with its urban surroundings—primarily the neighboring Chavis Heights. It is as if the planning of Ligon was intended to make students feel as though there were no barrier to their education, while simultaneously reasserting their position in society by associating the space of the school with the space of racially defined public housing (Fig. 1.19). While the example of Garner, with its literal cloister, may appear as perhaps an isolated extreme, similar effects are achieved in other schools, such as Sherwood-Bates and Longview Gardens by having the length of the school running parallel to the street with a wing extended in the rear to create an open yet definitively non-public space. These outdoor spaces likely served sites of student socialization of a less regulated nature than within the schools themselves. By shielding these spaces from public view, one is effectively isolating the social interactions of their students from the gaze of any outsider of an indeterminate race.

It is necessary at this point to clarify that Garner was designed several years after the other schools mentioned (and thus after *Brown v. Board*), thus could be responding to slightly later trends in school design. Garner was also located in a more rural community than Ligon. It could be argued that the cloistering of Garner versus the openness of the Ligon is a reflection of their respective contexts, yet the inverse could also be true—with the protection and isolation of Garner perhaps being even more necessary in an urban context such as Ligon. However, given Ligon's location within a predominately Black community, one could further understand the isolation of the Black Community in the Chavis Heights area as a type of urban scale cloister, acting as both a "fortress" and "prison" to borrow Mattson's phrase. [66]

[66] Mattson, "Evolution of Raleigh's African American Neighborhoods," 35

In the face of headlines reading, "In North Carolina! $200 Million Needed To Equalize Schools" the appearance of action was essential, however, that kind of investment would never have been feasible.[67] It was the apparent quality of the facilities that was the principle measure of material quality. The design of Ligon in some ways reflects this idea. Viewed externally, the school is built up in functional components, making legible the various resources that it possesses. Its external materials of glass and high quality brick give it an appearance of equity. Even the hallways, made partially visible by the large windows, received a quality finish of glazed brick. Yet the finishes within the classrooms are noticeably less refined that those of contemporary white elementary schools, often simply consisting of painted concrete block. With this in mind, Thuesen puts forward an alternative rationale for the construction of Ligon. She argues that Ligon represents the last major construction effort by city officials to defend against any challenges to Jim Crow. In effect, the quality of the school was intended to prove that the notion of "separate by equal" was an attainable goal.

Beyond the building itself, the site selection for the Ligon was almost certainly politically motivated. The location chosen for the school assured that future development in the city would occur along the existing racially divisive geography. Prior to the post-war growth of the city, there were Black communities across the city, but with the planning of Chavis Heights, Crosby, Garfield, and Ligon all in one area immediately adjacent to Shaw University, the city was essentially creating a new community for Black residents, many of whom were being displaced by the development of white suburbs. However, this attempt at separation in fact created a hub of education and community that would come together in the 1960's to fight for the end of segregation.

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[67]A.M., Rivera Jr. "In North Carolina! $200 Million Needed to Equalize Schools." *Pittsburgh Courier* (October 31, 1953)

School construction in the immediate post-war era saw an increased number of schools, such as Sherwood-Bates, Lacy, and Longview, used as anchors for developing neighborhoods. This was in many ways simply a continuation of a trend dating back to the 1920's. However, in the post-war era, a modernist sense of school design was able to present the image of progressive values, while their lack of ornamentation effectively hides differences in building economy as ornament had traditionally served as means of differentiation between the quality of Black and white schools. Inadvertently, perhaps the move towards flexible standards promoted by the DPI's new School Design Standards, as opposed to standardized plans, enable further distinction between the value of white and Black schools. Moreover, many of the city's most affluent neighborhoods—Country Club Hills, Longview Gardens, Cameron Village—were seeing a number of modern homes appear, thus further tying the aesthetics of modernism to a middle-to-upper-middle class identity. In the years following its construction, Ligon would be central to the city's first major case against segregated schools. However, the question of equitable education was not merely a question of local politics. With the ruling of *Brown* in 1954 the entire country looked to the South to see how it would respond to the call to end segregation.

Chapter 3

Stalling Equality

1954-1964

In the summer of 1954, the Supreme Court unanimously struck down State-Sponsored segregation in public schools with their ruling of *Brown v. Board of Education*, much to the dismay of many white southerners. Governor Ulmstead quickly came out and said he was "terribly disappointed" by the ruling, but unlike other southern governors, he did not make any direct indication that North Carolina would attempt to challenge the Court.[68] There were nonetheless several efforts by the State to stall or minimize the effects of the ruling. Despite the highly politicized climate around public education at this time, architects in North Carolina pushed for school modernization more than ever, and with a fair degree of success. In the case of Raleigh though, the majority of the new schools were located in white neighborhoods, often at the edges of the city within the jurisdiction of the Wake County School System, rather than Raleigh city schools. It was one of these new modernist schools, Daniels Junior High, that was at the center of the city's first desegregation case. At the same time, a number of new middle class African American suburbs were developing in East Raleigh that exhibited a degree of modernist design. It is within this context that the rise of modernism in the city, in both its schools and residential architecture, can be viewed as simultaneously oppressive and progressive style based on its implementation.

Almost immediately after the ruling of *Brown*, the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina began to prepare a report to advise the state's response under the direction of James C. N. Paul, who had previously served as clerk to Chief Justice Fred Vinson.[69] The hope was that with his inside knowledge of the workings of the Court, Paul would be able to construct a plan that would stand up to legal scrutiny. In his report Paul examined the response of

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[68] Jack Michael McElreath, "The Cost of Opportunity: School Desegregation and Changing Race Relations in the Triangle since World War II" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2002): 130
[69] ibid, 130

other southern states, giving special attention to the idea of tuition grants for private schools, though this strategy was never brought up in the legislature. He also noted that the broad pupil assignment standards passed in Louisiana and Mississippi would likely not hold up in court.[70] At the same time, Governor Ulmstead appointed retired state senator Thomas J. Pearsall to lead a committee to study the ruling and make recommendations to the Legislature. The committee's view was strongly against any immediate action in integration, unanimously stating in their report that "the mixing of races forthwith in the public schools throughout the state cannot be accomplished and should not be attempted" further stating that such efforts "would alienate public support for the schools to such an extent that they could not be operated successfully." Following the analysis from Paul's report the Committee attempted to construct a bill that would avoid extreme measures like school closures, but would also stand up in the court. Their strategy was to have the state cede its authority in matters of pupil assignment to local school boards.

The idea was quickly picked up by the state legislature and passed in March of 1955 under Governor Luther Hodges, who replaced Governor Ulmstead after his untimely passing in November 1954. The aim of the Pearsall Plan was to allow State officials to visibly support the ruling by suggesting integration, while leaving it to local school boards to make any substantive decisions. In May of 1955, the Supreme Court ruled in a case involving Prince Edward County, Virginia—so-called *Brown II*—stated that integration must be pursued "with all deliberate speed." The ambiguity of this phrase emboldened opponents of desegregation to pursue new policies to stall or entirely stop integration. Unlike Ulmstead, Governor Hodges was vocal in his opposition to desegregation, but framed his argument as a defense of North Carolina's progressive nature. As he stated in a televised address: "Public Schools of North Carolina part

[70] ibid, 132

and parcel of our state and its great progress I shall do all I can to preserve them but let no one be mislead on how I personally feel about mixing the races in schools. I am inalterably opposed to it and I intend to continue to see it that our state uses every lawful and proper means to prevent it."[71]

Governor Hodges appointed Pearsall to lead a new committee of all white membership following the development of *Brown II*. The bill that result from the second Pearsall committee, known as the Pearsall Plan, was passed in July of 1956. It contained a number of new policies, the most effective of which guaranteed that the state would provide private school tuition grants to parents whose children were assigned to an integrated school. The law also included an amendment to the state constitution, which allowed local school districts under pressure to integrate the option to hold public referendum on closing the school. The thought of these two measures in conjunction was to not only provide white opponents of integration the ability to opt out, but also to dissuade any efforts to desegregate as it could set off a public vote to close the schools. With the Pearsall plan in place every school board in the state was able to continue their discriminatory assignment plans until 1960, and most until 1965, with only rare exceptions of token integration.[72]

On March 29, 1955, the same month the Pupil Assignment Plan was passed, Governor Hodges gave an address at the Architectural Foundation Day at North Carolina State College (fig 3.1). In the company of virtually every prominent architect in the State, Governor Hodges extolled the School of Design for "achieving a reputation for excellence and a reputation for looking ahead."[73] Indeed, the School of Design had been looking ahead. The Modern school

[71] Deborah L. Holt, "Exhausted Remedies: Joe Holt's Story" UNC TV Video, 39:22, August 16, 2009
[72] McElreath, "Cost of Opprotunity" 136-137
[73] "School of Design Lauded by Governor Hodges" *Southern Architect* (April 1955): 11

design brought on largely by the SoD was increasingly a national trend. Since the creation of the School Design Standards in 1950, numerous influential writings on school design were published by architects and theorists such as William Caudill, Merle Sumption, and Jack L. Landes. Caudill first gained acclaim for his book *Space for Teaching*, published by his home state of Texas in 1941. The scope of his first book was limited to elementary schools in Texas, but Caudill expanded its ideas to a national level and for all grade levels with *Towards Better School Design* in 1954. This book was arguably the most significant text in school planning and design of the decade, and laid out in extensive detail the most popular trends of the field. Connecting Caudill's theories to the schools of North Carolina is not a difficult task as Garner Elementary—a Wake County School in Garner designed by Albert Haskins—is included as one of his case studies (Fig. 3.2).

As with the School Design Standards, Caudill uses a number of charts and diagrams in his approach. As if the title alone did not suggest the influence of Corbusian formalism, page after page features silhouetted students with arms outstretched like little modulor man (Fig. 3.3). In describing the proper considerations of students for whom these schools are designed Caudill states: "However coldly detached and elementary it seems, it is helpful to consider the pupil as a mere biological organism, a body without name or individuality but with life and therefore with needs."[74] In treating the students as biological organism, Caudill strips the pupil of identity; instead he treats the student as an abstract, collective idea defined by a set of uniform needs that can be addressed through quantifiable analysis. Within this view of design, the architect need not consider the race of the student or the regulations related to it. Indeed, just as Waugh and Johnson had avoided the topic entirely, so too did Caudill.

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[74] William Wayne Caudill, *Toward Better School Design* (New York: F.W. Dodge, 1954): **3**

This is not to suggest that such theories on education design were entirely devoid of humanity. The "biological" needs of the child were restricted to physical needs, but also gave equal importance (at least nominally) to the student's emotional needs (Fig. 3.4).[75] He further emphasizes that the people of a community are the first consideration in school planning (followed by land and money), going on to say that the schools "belong to the public and must serve the interests of the community."[76]

Caudill considered the incorporation of the school facilities and grounds within the community as one of the most important developments in Modern school planning theory. While Caudill is largely referring to the openness of the plan and its relation to parks or recreational space, it is in this discussion of barriers that Caudill comes closest to addressing the political reality of school construction, claiming that "Not only physical and visual boundaries are eliminated, but also political barriers."[77] The accompanying diagram is intended to illustrate that barriers between the school, its site, the neighborhood, and the city at large have been abandoned in contemporary design (Fig. 3.5). He nonetheless goes onto praise "far-sighted school boards" who have worked with local industrialists and businessmen to use school to guide development in a city's outlying areas—the same strategy that was used in Raleigh to systemically divide the city along race lines.[78]

This is not to entirely condemn the work of Caudill—and by reasonable proxy Waugh and Johnson—but it is nonetheless necessary to point out that the progressive values embodied by their design did not explicitly include a racially integrated society. As an architect practicing in a state that also required racially segregated school, it is not entirely surprising that Caudill did

[75] ibid, 2
[76] ibid, 116
[77] ibid, 138
[78] ibid, 122

not overtly address the issue of race regardless of whatever his personal view may have been. However, in encouraging planning and land development strategies that were used to create not only racially segregated schools but also entire urban landscapes is evidence that Caudill was either complicit with such policies or unaware of their use.

There were educational design theorists who were at least somewhat more attuned to the complex relationship between schools and community. In their 1957 book, *Planning Functional School Buildings*, Sumption and Landes assert that a study of the community was essential before approaching question of the design. Their approach, while still inherently functionalist, was not as deeply rooted in form, instead they described the technical and bureaucratic process by which a functional school can be designed and built including the various forms of analysis that should go into school planning. Unlike Caudill, they express a sensitivity towards the historical conditions of a community, recommending a complete investigation of factors such as the historical background of a community's founding, population, economics and cultural achievements.[79] While there is still no mention of race, interest in community history could be viewed as moving in the direction of a more race-conscious planning strategy, even unconsciously.[80] There is however no evidence to suggest that this form of analysis was ever implemented in Raleigh, as discussion around school continued to be around their cost and the opportunity schools presented to the architect.

Despite the ruling of *Brown* in May of 1954 (or perhaps because of it), architects in North Carolina, and especially Raleigh, were pushing for Modern school facilities more than ever. Only

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[79] Merle R. Sumption and Jack Lyle Landes. *Planning Functional School Buildings*. (New York: Harper, 1957): 33

[80] Linda Harris describes the notion that race is socially constructed identity and further that racism creates a historical narrative to support itself. Within this view, a community's history can therefore be understood as a generative force in the construction of race identity, regardless of the explicit discussion of race. Harris, *Little White Houses*, 3

five months after the ruling, *Southern Architect*—the official publication of the North Carolina AIA—did an entire issue dedicated to school design. Yet they still made no mention of the recent ruling or race in general. In the opening address of the issue, future AIA president and then North Carolina chapter president, A.G. Odell discussed extensively the importance of school construction. Odell's firm was based in Charlotte and had done a number of schools in that region of the state. Odell describes the issue of school construction as an issue of concern for not only for school boards and planners or even the children who attend them, but the entire public, stating that "Schools have been thrown open to the public, inspection and criticism have been invited, and facilities for adult evening educational classes and college extension sources, and gymnasiums and auditoriums have been made available for all sorts of civic enterprises."[81] In framing schools this way, they become important civic spaces for their community, as he goes on to assert that schools "can be the greatest public monument a city could hope for." In the main article of the issue, Marvin R.A. Johnson and Boyce M. Morrison, a colleague of Johnson's at the DPI's Division of School Planning, elaborate on the importance of the public perception of schools, but describe them as vessels of modernity rather than civic monuments.

Johnson and Morrison frame the prospect of school construction as a type of missionary enterprise, giving a chance to spread Modernism across the state. They do so by appealing to the architect as a practicing professional, but also as an advocate of good architecture:

> The architect in North Carolina now has more opportunity for individuality of expression in school building than ever before… Unless architects accept the opportunity which they now have to make each school a school designed and suited to one particular site and location and to specific purposes, he misses an opportunity for developing a deeper and more sincere appreciation of architecture by the lay public.[82]

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[81] Odell, A.G. "President's Message" *Southern Architect* (October, 1954): 6
[82] Johnson and Boyce, "School Building in North Carolina" in *Southern Architect* (October, 1954): 12

The need to spread modern architecture to the "lay" public is further indicated by the inclusion of a full-fledged conversion story. They describe a woman "who was not 'sold' on contemporary architecture," but after staying at a modern hotel in Puerto Rico she was "so much impressed… that she believed that she could 'go' for modern architecture."[83] For Johnson and Boyce, schools were explicitly viewed as one of the most effective building types in the spread of modernism for the sheer number of people that are affected by them.[84]

Considering this understanding of school construction as a tool in the spread of modern architecture, the placement of a majority of these new schools in white communities can be viewed as an indication that modernism was intended for the consumption of a white audience. There were however signs that the architectural community—its academic component at least—did not maintain such a view. Perhaps most significantly was the SoD's view of integration. In 1955, the SoD faculty unanimously voted to have their representative introduce a resolution "concerning the integration of the races" at the upcoming college-wide faculty senate meeting.[85] The measure was defeated at the faculty senate in an 8-15 vote, with the stated reason of opposition being that "the senate felt that it was not an appropriate time to take this action."[86] The SoD faculty brought the issue up again the following month, resolving that "a more positive statement be added to the faculty senate resolution regarding integration in the public schools. That this statement should be that a constructive program be implemented to expedite the decision of the Supreme Court regarding integration in Public Schools."[87] While the result of this second resolution was never mentioned in the minutes, the following year saw the enrollment of

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[83] ibid, 11
[84] "For in what other public building program will as many people be affected as in the construction of public schools" ibid
[85] Faculty minutes, Wednesday October 5, 1955 from the North Carolina State University Archive
[86] School of Design Faculty minutes, Wednesday, November 2, 1955
[87] School of Design Faculty minutes, Wednesday, December 14, 1955

the first four Black undergraduates. Despite the progressive position these resolutions represent, and the known association between almost all of the architects designing schools in Raleigh at the time, there were no faculty members in attendance for either vote who actually designed any of the schools in Raleigh. Furthermore, as was the case with Caudill, it is not clear that any of the faculty or school architects were aware of the ways in which school planning was being implemented to further segregate the city.

In fact, the vast majority of the faculty lived and designed in the emerging suburbs of North and West Raleigh where a number of new schools were being built. In particular Kamphoefner and several of the other faculty members lived in the Country Club Hills neighborhood—home to a large golf course and distinctly modernist club house designed by Milton Small (Fig. 3.6)—which received a Haskin designed elementary school in 1957. Renamed Albert Root Elementary, the school included a total of twelve classrooms each of which featured a wall of extensive fenestration and access to a corresponding outdoor space (Fig. 3.7-8). The structure of pre-cast concrete members recalls the work of Paul Rudolph in Florida, but is finished in the traditional red brick. While the planning and configuration of the school is distinct from any of the previously discussed examples, the protective and isolating effect that was discussed in relation to interior court of Garner High School is still present in the form of the outdoor classroom space. These outdoor classrooms, while not within the mass of the building, are still largely protected from the gaze of outsiders by the position of the central block of the building as well as the fences' vegetation. Perhaps the desire for a literally cloistered space was not as high in the solidly white Country Club Hills area, where the school could be viewed as open to the community—similar to the way Ligon is open to its predominately Black

surroundings—while still maintaining the desired level of privacy that was a hallmark modern post war housing intended for white consumption.[88]

There were several other modern white schools built even further north of the city that were located in Wake County system, such as J.Y. Joyner Elementary designed by F.C. Williams (Fig. 3.9-10). In addition to these schools, the new State PTA headquarters was built at the very edge of Raleigh's city limits near the Country Clubs Hills Neighborhood in 1961 (Fig. 3.11).[89] By placing the State's PTA headquarters in this predominately white, affluent community, the associations of wealth and race that were established in the individual schools were expanded to incorporate spaces of parental involvement in education.

The city opened its only new Black elementary school of the decade in 1956, Mary E. Phillips Elementary (now Phillips High). The school was located immediately adjacent to St. Augustine College and was designed by former Deitrick employee, Robert B. Lyons. Unlike Root or even Ligon, there is virtually no photographic record of the School's original building. However, a plot plan of an addition made to the school in the 1980s gives an idea of the school's size and footprint (Fig. 3.12). A survey of schools built before 1956 conducted by Wake County Public Schools describes it as a "one-story, L-shaped building" with "overhanging eaves, a flat roof and ribbons of windows set in metal frames… and transoms over classroom doors."[90] However, it was Ligon Jr.-Sr. High, as well as the new Daniels Jr. High, that were at the center of the first desegregation effort.

Daniels first opened in 1955 and was located next to the previously discussed Sherwood-Bates Elementary on Oberlin road near Broughton and Cameron Village. Its design was similar

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[88]Dianne Harris describes the desire for openness and windows being tempered by the desire for privacy. She does so by citing Elizabeth Gordon's conception of the "American Style," in which privacy was closely associated with the notion of individuality. Harris, *Little White House,* 132

[89] "PTA Headquarters, Raleigh, N.C" *Southern Architect*, October, 1960, 6-7

[90] Woodard and Martin, "Survey of Schools before 1956," 47

to its neighboring elementary school in many ways. The two schools sit at the edge of a small ridge running along Oberlin Road (Fig. 3.13). This position provided the schools a degree of privacy, with the principal façade obscuring the rear portion from the rear (Fig. 3.14) The positioning of Daniels closes off open area defined by the L-Shape plan of Sherwood-Bates and creates a sort of threshold between the two buildings to access the space in the rear. Given the previous discussions of the planning of Ligon and Garner, this arrangement can be viewed as limiting access and visibility of the outdoor space from the residents of Oberlin Village. While Caudill called for the elimination of boundaries between the recreational spaces of schools, the composition of Sherwood-Bates makes a clear distinction between the space of the school and the space of the community. This relationship was reinforced by an addition that was made within the last fifteen years, which connects the two buildings with a new wing running along the front of the site, creating a sort of half cloister. However, the original building remains largely intact in the rear (Fig. 3.15). When it opened, Daniels became the nicest facility for any junior high in the city and its students would go on to attend Broughton, still the largest and prestigious high school in the city. However, its location, near the historically Black Oberlin community made it the logical first site for integration.

In 1955, fourteen Black students petitioned the city board of education for admission to Broughton and Daniels, but all were rejected. The following year three new students petitioned the board for admittance to Daniels after finishing at Oberlin Elementary—the lone Black school in what had become a predominately white area west of downtown. Of the three students, two of their mothers were teachers in Black schools. After pressure was put onto the families of the applicants, including threats of firing by Superintendent Jesse O. Sanderson, two of the three

applications were revoked by the parents.[91] The lone remaining applicant was Joe Holt Jr., and as was the case with the other two students, he lived in the Oberlin Village community. His application was denied and he was forced to attend Ligon, but Sanderson offered to provide free bus transportation for the students as a compromise. Sanderson handled these applicants and their transportation under the table, without consulting the school board. When investigating the reasons for the new busing, the *Raleigh Times* uncovered the story of Joe Holt's application. They printed a large photo of the Holt family with the headline, "Negro Dad May Sue on School Application."[92] Unexpectedly thrust into the spotlight, Holt became the poster child for integration efforts in the city, and the response was unsurprisingly negative by those who did not wish to see the end of Jim Crow. The family soon began to receive threats and Joe Holt Sr. was fired from his job. The following year they again attempted to gain admission through administrative application. The application was again rejected at which point the case was brought to the district court with the help of Herman L. Taylor—the same attorney who handled the case in Lumberton in 1946. In 1958, the court ruled against Joe Holt arguing that they had not yet exhausted administrative means to admission. Despite the ruling Joe Holt continued his effort to enroll in Daniels (and subsequently Broughton as he aged out of junior high), but the decision was never overturned. In 1959, Joe Holt graduated as salutatorian from Ligon High. In recalling the matter Joe Holt gives voice to what was at stake:

> Offering transportation really didn't satisfy us… because the idea was to go to this school right down the street here that you're still telling me I can't go to… and You're still making me feel that I'm unacceptable. That I'm not supposed to go there that I'm not entitled to have a facility that's nice here to go to—Yes, Ligon was nice, but it was across town, and also you still carried with you as long as you were going to Ligon High School: "*that* school is for you, *this* school is for our white kids. You can't go here because only whites can go here." That places

[91] Thuesen, *Greater than Equal*, 27
[92] ibid, 218

> upon you—it causes a certain amount of psychological damage when you are told that you can't go here and others can. We were trying to find a step outside of that and the law now said we could.[93]

Things changed rapidly after the Holt case. New facilities were needed for Black students, but rather than build a new school as had been done for white students in new white suburbs, the racial designation of Thompson Elementary—on East Hargett Street—was changed from white to Black in 1960.[94] The decision to change the status of Thompson not only allowed the city to not build another Black school in the face of eventual desegregation, but it also assured that no new Black development would result from it—as it was already a predominately Black area.

Also in 1960, only a few short years after Joe Holt was rejected, the city board admitted one Black student named Bill Campbell to Murphey Elementary—one of the few remaining centrally located white schools in the city. It was J.W. York—a member of the school board who voted to reject Joe Holt's enrollment just a few years prior and whose real estate development had threatened the status of Oberlin—who put forward the motion to admit Bill Campbell.[95] It is significant that Murphey was not one of the numerous modern schools in the white suburbs, such as Root or Sherwood-Bates. It was one of the oldest schools in the city, and one of the few white schools east of Downtown. Before his passing in 2004, York claimed that the school board had always planned to begin integration at the primary school level, and that was the reason that Joe Holt was not admitted but Bill Campbell was. However, that line of reasoning was never raised in any legal proceeding involving Holt's case. It is perhaps more likely those climates around civil rights in the state were shifting. The political situation surrounding the issue had changed dramatically over those two years, making it difficult to continue segregation. Earlier that same

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[93] Joe Holt Jr. in "Exhausted Remedies: Joe Holt's Story"
[94] North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, Educational Directory, 1959-1960
[95] Simmons-Henry and Harris, *Culture Town, 34*

year the sit-in protest movement began in Greensboro, soon followed by the founding of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Raleigh. Perhaps most importantly were the protests and subsequent arrest of 43 students at Cameron Village in February 1960.[96] The arrest of students who were peacefully gathered on public sidewalks sparked outrage and inspired greater involvement from the older members of the Black community. The Raleigh Citizens Association joined with the student organizers in their protests of segregated businesses downtown, especially on Fayetteville Street. Within a week the executive secretary of the Raleigh Merchants Bureau acknowledged that the protests were affecting the revenue of downtown businesses. It was only in the face of financial loss that York and the other business leaders were willing to allow even the smallest degree of integration.

In 1961, the case of *Hunter v. Raleigh Board of Education* hoped to gain admission for sixty-six applicants, and to deem the state's Pupil Assignment act unconstitutional.[97] Their applications were not accepted, but later that year the Raleigh Board of Education announced their plan to admit a total of eight Black students to white schools—three to Broughton and five to Daniels. While this was a significant breakthrough, it was still simply a token integration and ultimately a stall. Despite the symbolic value, their admission came at the cost of alienation and fear. Bill Campbell said that he "felt unsafe everyday." Lillian Capeheart—one of the Black students admitted to Broughton in 1961—described it as feeling like a "nonentity," going on to say, "You are still segregated in this integrated school."[98] This pattern of minimal integration, though of slightly increasing numbers, continued to be the policy throughout the state until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

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[96] McElreath, *Cost of Opportunity*, 219
[97] ibid, 226
[98] Theusen, *Greater Than Equal*, 228

Despite the Supreme Court ruling nearly a decade earlier, through the 1964-65 school year, the 70 Black students enrolled in previously labeled white school made up only about one percent of the total student body.[99] The following year Raleigh had most significant rise in Black enrollment at predominately white school of any cities in the greater Triangle region, coming to a total of 325 students.[100] Despite the increasing rate of integration, the city continued to grow and many of the white suburbs began to extend beyond the jurisdiction of Raleigh's city schools into the Wake County Schools, thus drawing resources away from the urban schools that were beginning to integrate (Fig. 3.16). The trend continued until finally in 1976, the city and county schools were forced to merge as part of a broader integration effort.

While the most mainstream narratives of Raleigh's architecture during this time tend to focus on the faculty-designed houses in the city's most elite neighborhoods (such as the popular "North Carolina Modernist Houses" website) a more ubiquitous form of modernism was experienced everyday much the city's growing student population.[101] As the modernist design of Ligon, Daniels, and the other new schools of Raleigh served as the architectural backdrop, they became inextricably bound up in the legacy of modernism within the city. The architects who designed these schools are rarely discussed as involved with the issue of segregation despite the fact that their designs were the contested spaces. Perhaps this is because they are viewed as professionals who were merely carrying out their contracts, not responsible to the degree of policy makers. It is true that it is difficult to determine the views of any of these architects based merely on their schools, but as has been illustrated throughout, the architects of Raleigh were instrumental in the push for school construction and benefited from it immensely. Furthermore,

[99] McElreath, *Cost of Opportunity*, 331
[100] ibid, 337
[101] "North Carolina Modernist Houses," (http://www.ncmodernist.org/index.html)

despite the numerous occasions that the importance new schools was discussed and the frequent association with the progress of the State, Raleigh's architects entirely avoided any discussion of segregation or any substantive progressive policies beyond spending in education. Instead, they appear to have viewed schools as a vehicle to spread modernism, albeit in a form that embodied few truly progressive values.

Conclusion

Recalling her days commuting from Oberlin Village to Washington High, one former student described the daily trek: "After attending Oberlin Elementary School, we traveled, my brother and I and the others in the neighborhood, to Washington High School on Fayetteville Street passing Needham Broughton High School. We rode the bus, a city bus, that we got on Oberlin Road. We rode the bus to downtown Raleigh. Then we walked from downtown Raleigh across the Fayetteville Street railroad crossing to Washington High School."[102] During the days of legal segregation, the city of Raleigh was to many of its citizens a network of distinct spaces of acceptance and rejection. For the children of Oberlin, they were forced to pass the school for which their bodies were considered unacceptable on their way to their overcrowded school on the other side of town. New developments of a private nature were no less accepting, as demonstrated by the arrest of Black students who gathered in on the sidewalks of Cameron Village.

William Caudill described the elimination of barriers, spatial and political, between the school, the community, and the city, as one of the greatest aims of modern school planning and design. It was the schools however that served as instruments to create barriers and further divide. The writings and design standards promoted by Terry Waugh and Marvin Johnson were reflective of the same values promoted by Caudill, as well as new schools around the country. Johnson in particular was among the most vocal architects in the move towards modernization, but in many ways saw schools as a tool to spread the ideas of modern architect. After working Raleigh, Johnson went to Washington D.C to work for the Educational Services Bureau. It is there that Johnson further spread his ideas by publishing *The School Architect*—a book dealing

[102] Simmons-Henry and Harris, *Culture Town*, 30

with the process of selection an appropriate architect for school and how to work with them from bureaucratic standpoint.[103]

It is true that it is difficult to determine the views of any of these architects based merely on their schools. Yet there was at least one architect, associated with Raleigh, Edward Lowenstein who openly stood up for Civil Rights in his own firm—the first in the state to employ Black architects.[104] His practice was almost exclusively in Greensboro, but for a period of time in the early 1950's he had an office in Raleigh that was run by none other than Terry Waugh. Their jointly run firm was short-lived, as the two appeared to quickly have a falling out based on their correspondence. Regardless of the reasoning or their personal views, the architects of Raleigh were part of the system created an increasingly segregated city through school planning.

The effects of these school-planning policies have had a lasting impact on the East Raleigh community as significant as any major urban renewal project. Unlike major infrastructure that creates visible divisions, these schools remain hidden in plain sight. Many of the schools discussed have been demolished, and of those remaining virtually all of them have been substantially renovated, replaced, repurposed, or abandoned, their positions in the city are nonetheless reminders of a past in which large parts of the city were deemed inaccessible based on the color of one's skin. In a survey of Raleigh's schools built before 1956, Mary E. Phillips Elementary (now Phillips High) was described as the "one of the most intact, post-war schools in the county," yet the original 1956 building was demolished and replaced with a new building on

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[103] Marvin R.A. Johnson, *The School Architect: Selection, Duties, How To Work With Him*. (Washington: Educational Service Bureau, 1968)

[104] Patrick Lee Lucas. *Modernism at Home: Edward Loewenstein's architectural achievement in the Civil Rights Era. (Greensboro, N.C. : Weatherspoon Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2013)*

the same site.[105] Ligon still stands, but has sustained several significant renovations and additions since its first construction.

The erasure of segregation-era schools is occurring around the country, and should be taken a serious issue in historic preservation. However, approaching these schools as the subject of preservation presents a number of issues. Preserving a segregation era school as functioning school facility runs the risk of inadvertently perpetuating the intentionally divisive nature of these schools by restricting their ability to accommodate up-to-date teaching practices. Furthermore, depending on one's perspective, these schools can serve an unwelcome reminder of a painful past. However, the eradication of the material evidence of a community's shared history of injustice runs the risk of destroying the public memory itself. As Amy Weisser points out, architecture can function as mnemonic devices for the recollection of a shared past—the object through which a story can be told and retold for generations.[106] In addition to the issue of preserving the schools themselves, the naming of schools is additional issue in regards to the persisting legacy of segregation. While there are schools bearing the names of some of the city's most influential black leaders, such as Ligon and Carnage—named for only Black member of the school board at the time of the Holt case, and lone vote in favor of integration—there are other schools, such as J.W. York and Leroy Elementary, which commemorate those school board members who rejected Holt. Furthermore, the location of these schools corresponds to the racial lines of the city's past.

The issue of preserving these schools is but one of the many avenues of further investigation that this subject merits. Indeed there are numerous aspects of topic that, while beyond the scope of this thesis, would be valuable contributions to the field. First, and perhaps

[105] Woodard and Martin, "Architectural Survey of Wake County Public Schools Built Before 1956," 47.
[106] Weisser, "Marking Brown" 107

most obviously, additional schools from this time could be included. Furthermore, the topic within its current parameters could be extended to include the period leading up to the Raleigh and Wake County Public school merger in the 1970s—a significant point in the continued struggle to integrate Raleigh's schools. A comparison of these schools to the campuses of both Shaw and St. Augustine's based on Kendrick Ian Grandison's critical framework regarding the planning of historically Black colleges and universities would also be a worthwhile investigation.[107] The scale and complexity of this topic opens it to near endless possibilities, but it is certainly a topic that merits further scholarship.

From the early 1920's through the post-war era, Raleigh's city officials in the name of progress developed a school system that was meant to divide the city while claiming to pursue progress. It is undeniable that over time the quality of schools and education available to the Black students of Raleigh were substantially increased, but with every advancement of Black facilities, White facilities were improved to an even greater degree. Moreover, despite the apparent improvement in the qualities of the facilities, by strategically locating new schools the city's racial dynamic was further entrenched. Furthermore, the designed relationship of the schools to their urban context creates the illusion of progressive improvements for Black students while simultaneously creating suburban retreats for white students. The architects of the city were instrumental in this effort of creating a progressive image while remaining complicit in designing segregated schools. The story of Raleigh teaches us that as with every advancement within an incrementalist approach to major social change, each step forward necessary presents reminder that another step is needed.

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[107] Kendrick Ian Grandison "Negotiated Space: The Black College Campus as a Cultural Record of Postbellum America." In *Sites of Memory: Perspectives on Architecture and Race,* edited by Craig E. Barton, 55-96. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001

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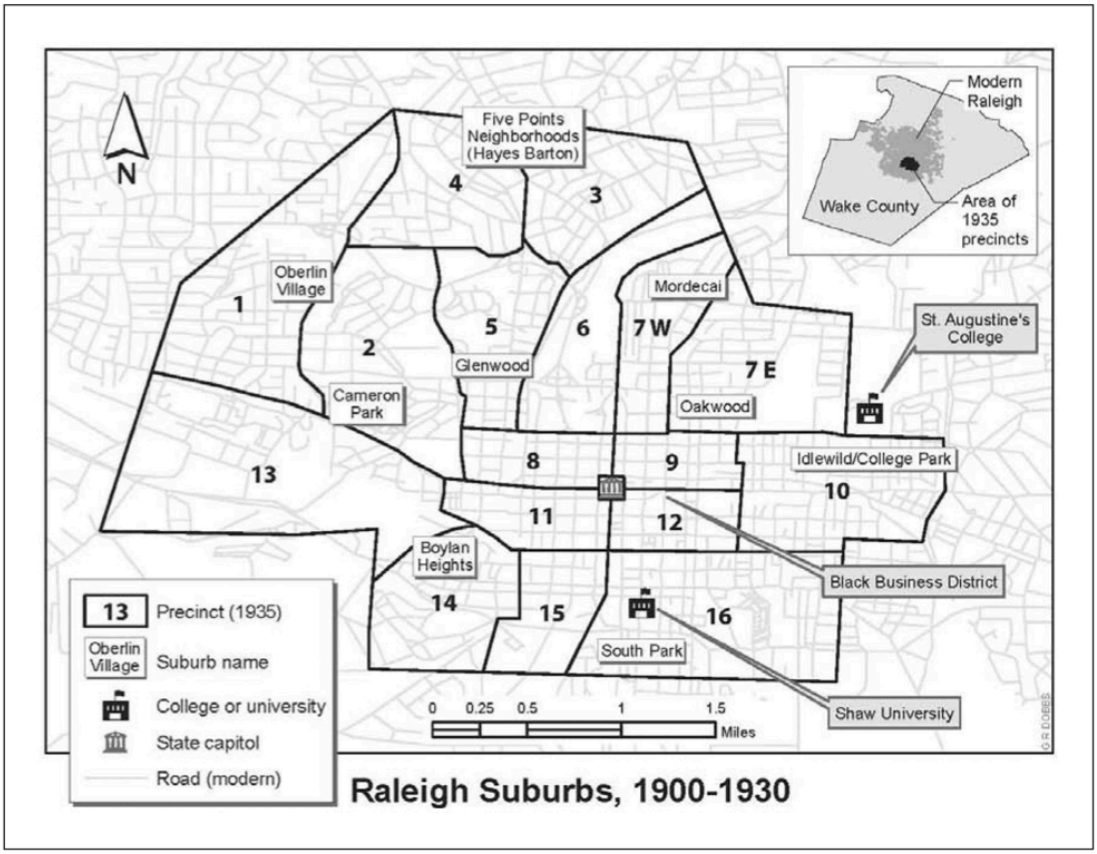

Figure 1.1: Map of Raleigh Suburbs, 1900-1930–East Raleigh encompasses the "black business district" and areas adjacent.

Source: Karen Benjamin,"Suburbanizing Jim Crow" *Journal of Urban History* 38 no. 2 (2012)

Figure 1.2: Oberlin School, Raleigh, NC (1916)

Source: North Carolina State Archive Flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/north-carolina-state-archives/24171560853/ (Accessed March 25, 2015)

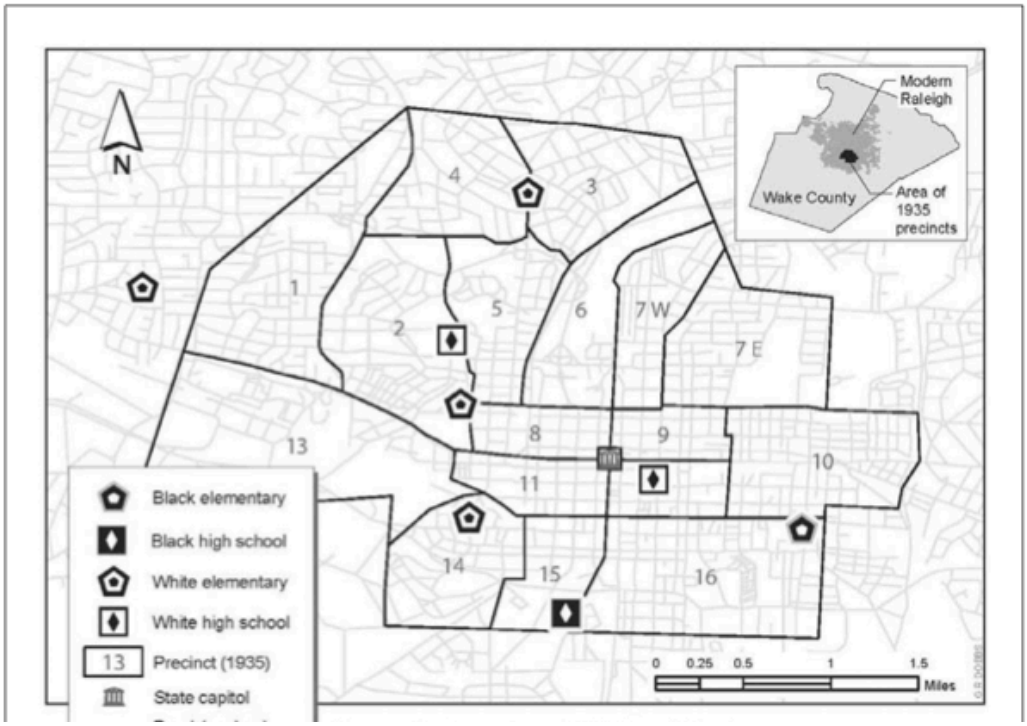

Figure 1.3: Raleigh Schools before 1920—Murphey indicated by marker south east of the capital.

Source: Karen Benjamin,"Suburbanizing Jim Crow" *Journal of Urban History* 38 no. 2 (2012)

Figure 1.4: Murphey Elementary, Raleigh, NC

Source: North Carolina State University Library, Preservation North Carolina Historic Architecture Slide Collection, http://d.lib.ncsu.edu/collections/catalog/bh2088pnc003 (Accessed March 25, 2015)

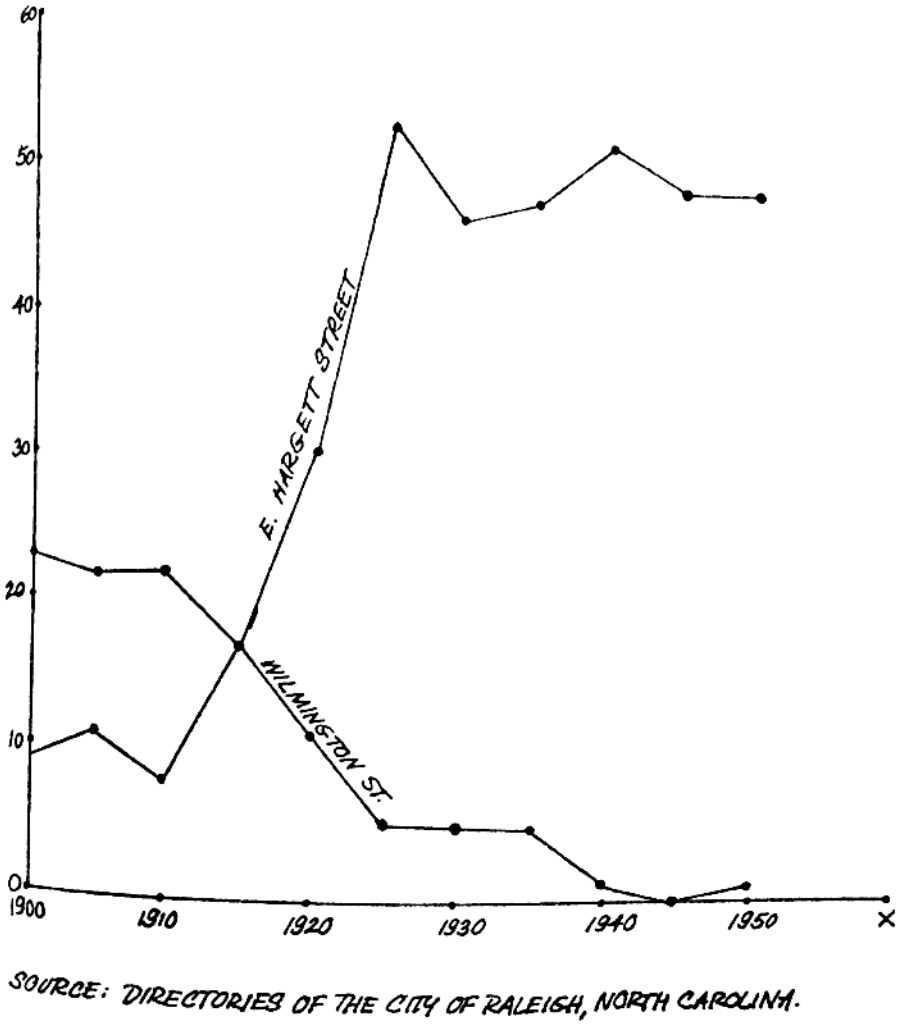

Figure 1.5: Number of Negro Businesses on Wilmington and East Hargett Streets at Five-Year Intervals

Source: Wilmoth A. Carter, *The Urban Negro in the South*

Figure 1.6: Photo of East Hargett, Raleigh, NC, ca. 1930

Source: North Carolina State Archive Flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/north-carolina-state-archives/2341307324/ (Accessed March 25, 2015)

Figure 1.7: Lightner Arcade, Raleigh, NC

Source: North Carolina State Archive Flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/north-carolina-state-archives/24171561713/ (Accessed March 25, 2015)

Figure 1.8: Christopher Gadsden Sayre, Thompson Elementary

Source: Raleigh Public Record, http://raleighpublicrecord.org/news/2012/08/07/ comission-roundup-wake-tech-bond-on-november-ballot/ (Accessed March 25, 2015)

Figure 1.9: Original Wiley School, Raleigh, N.C.

Source: Goodnight Raleigh http://goodnightraleigh.com/2013/09/hotel-wiley-raleigh-n-c-located-in-residential-section-of-city/_ (Accessed March 25, 2015)

Figure 1.10: Christopher Gadsden Sayre, Wiley Elementary, Raleigh, N.C.

Source: "Goodnight Raleigh," http://goodnightraleigh.com/2013/09/hotel-wiley-raleigh-n-c-located-in-residential-section-of-city/ (Accessed March 25, 2015)

Figure 1.11: Original Washington Elementary

Source: North Carolina State Archive Flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/north-carolina-state-archives/24772203316/ (Accessed March 25, 2015)

Figure 1.12: Christopher Gadsden Sayre, Washington Graded and High School

Source: Raleigh Historic Development Commission, http://rhdc.org/washington-graded-and-high-school (Accessed March 25, 2015)

Figure 1.13: William Henley Deitrick, Broughton High School, Raleigh, N.C.

Source: Good Night Raleigh, http://goodnightraleigh.com/2014/05/needham-broughton-high-school-raleigh-n-c/ (Accessed March 25, 2015)

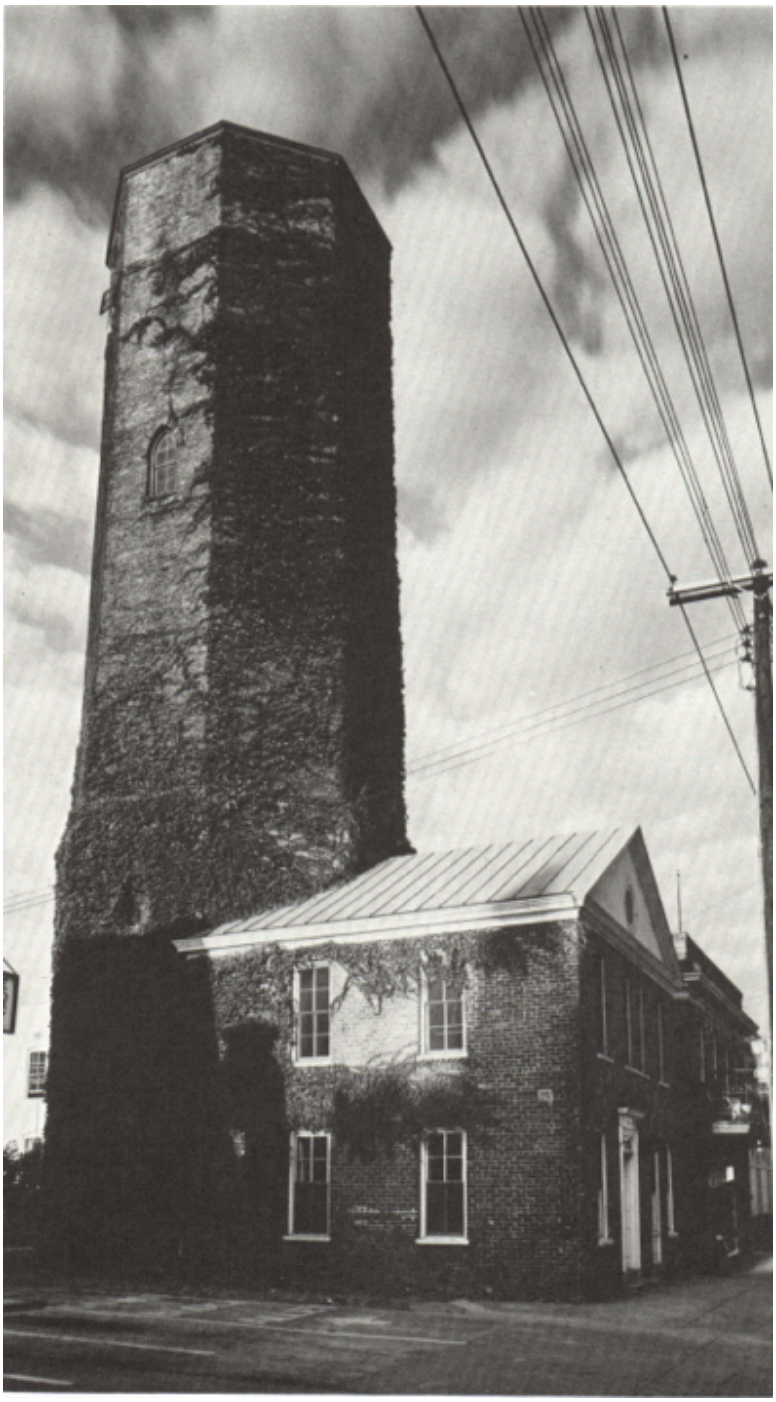

Figure 1.14: Office of William Henley Deitrick

Source: Elizabeth Culbeston Waugh, "Firm in an Ivied Tower," *North Carolina Architect* (February 1971)

Figure 1.15: Original Crosby-Garfield Elementary, Raleigh, NC

Source: North Carolina State Archive Flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/north-carolina-state-archives/24704942221/ (Accessed March 25, 2015)

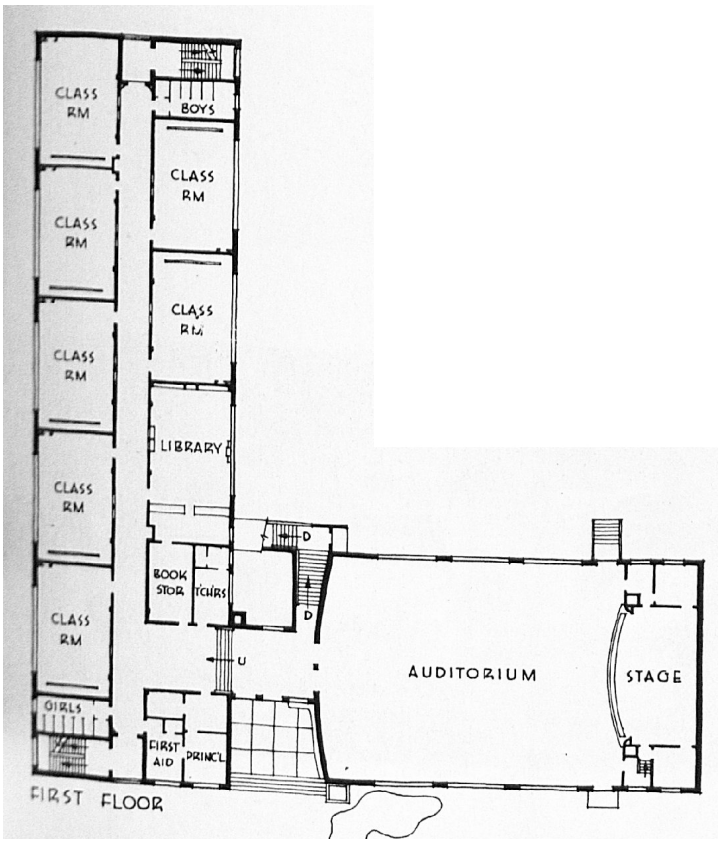

Figure 1.16: William H. Deitrick, Crosby-Garfield, Raleigh, NC

Source: "Schools and Colleges." *Architectural Record* 89, no. 3, 1941

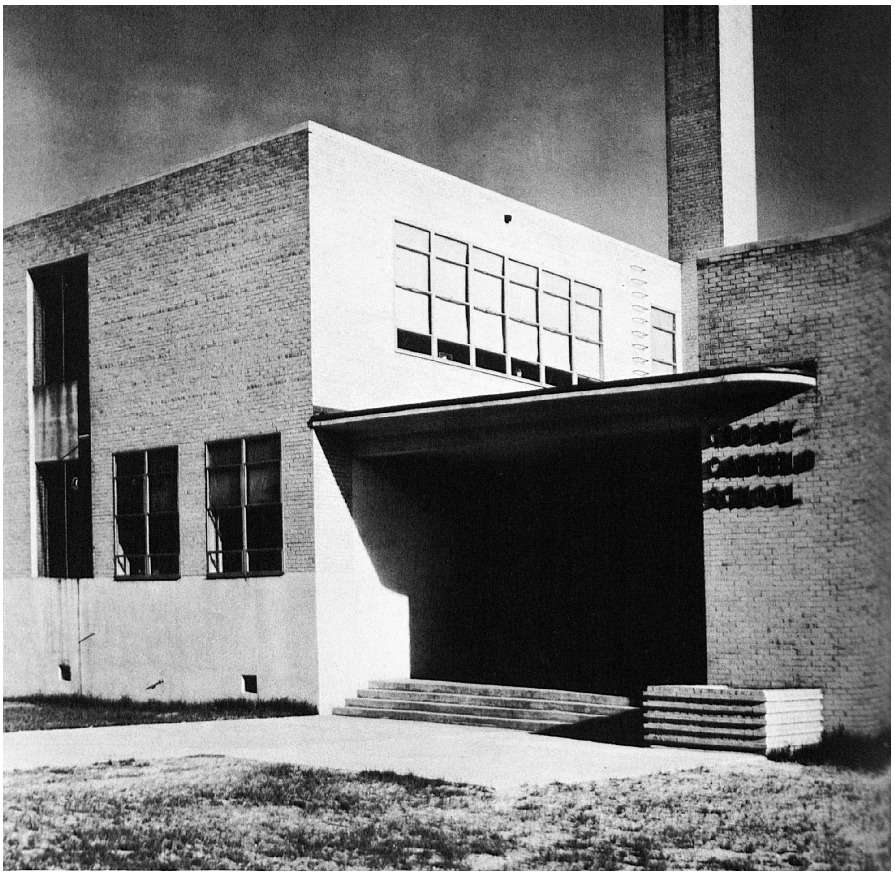

Figure 1.17: William H. Deitrick, Plan of Crosby-Garfield Elementary, Raleigh, NC

Source: "Schools and Colleges." *Architectural Record* 89, no. 3, 1941

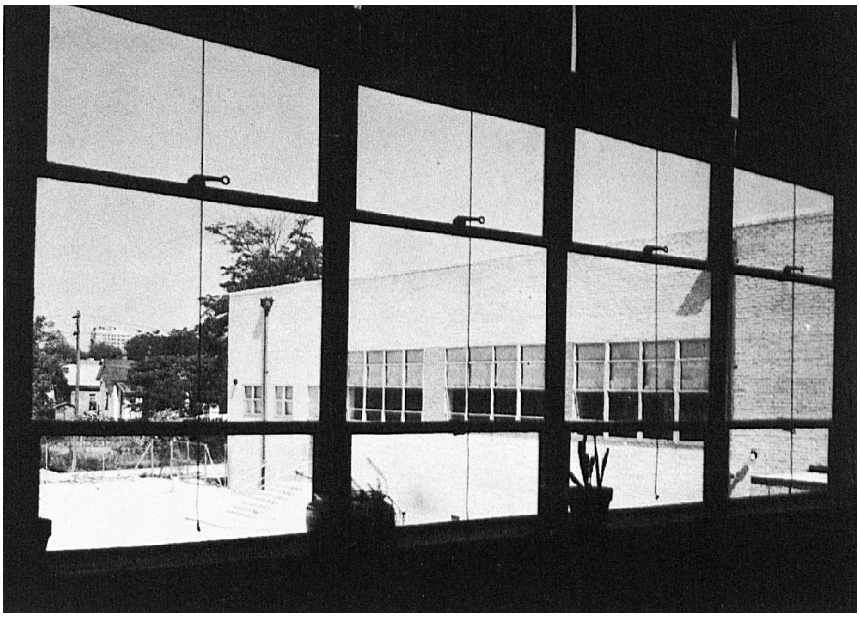

Figure 1.18: Interior of Crosby-Garfield

Source: "Schools and Colleges." *Architectural Record* 89, no. 3, 1941

Figure 1.19: Rendering of the Chavis Heights area, with annotations by the author

Source: Original from "Capturing the Past to Guide the Future: The Continuing Legacy of Ligon High School," https://www.ncsu.edu/ligon/about/history/chavis.htm (Accessed March 25, 2015)

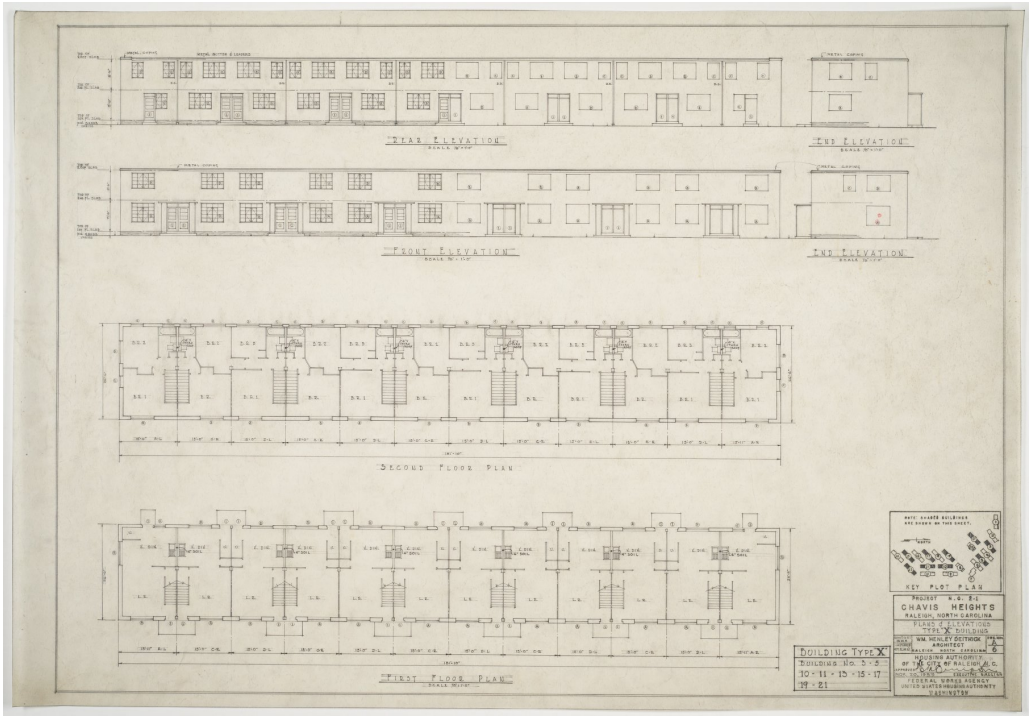

Figure 1.19: William H. Deitrick, Plans and Elevations of Chavis Heights

Source: Guy E. Crampton and William Henley Deitrick papers and drawings, North Carolina State University Special Collections

Figure 1.21: Child at Chavis Heights, 1945

Source: Linda Simmons-Henry and Linda Harris Edmisten. *Culture Town : Life in Raleigh's African American Communities*.

Figure 1.22: Chavis Heights Garden

Source: Linda Simmons-Henry and Linda Harris Edmisten. *Culture Town : Life in Raleigh's African American Communities*.

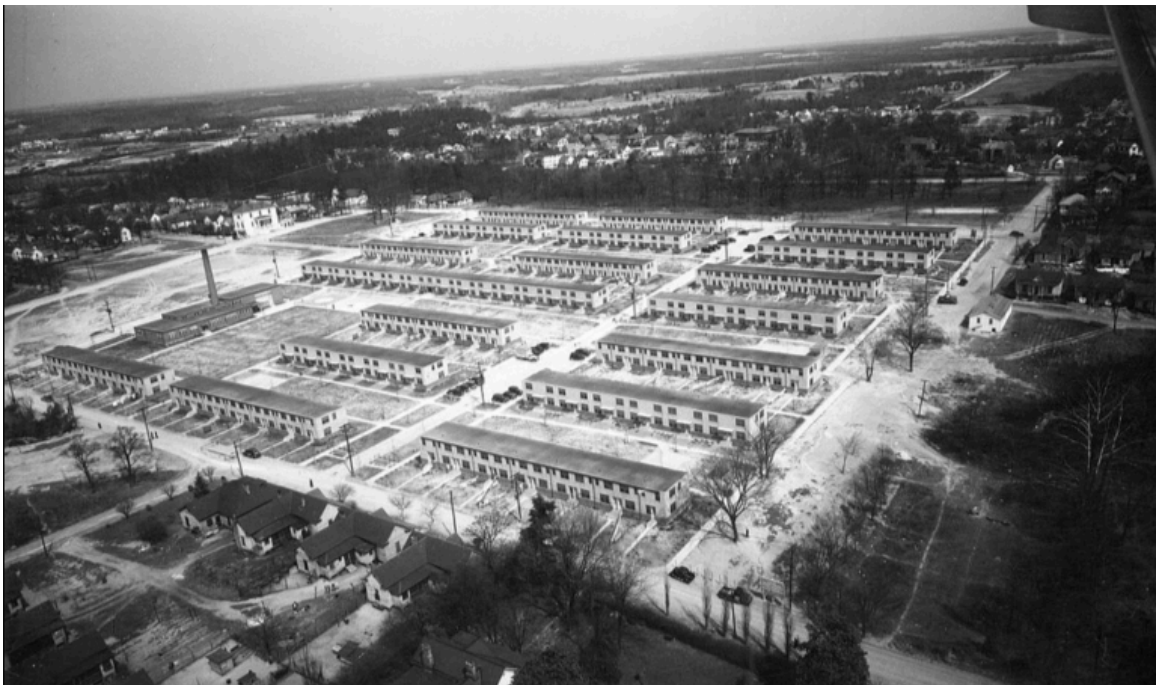

Figure 1.23: Aerial Photo of Halifax Courts, Raleigh, NC, 1939

Source: Networks of Architecture and Development: Raleigh, NC, http://omeka.design.ncsu.edu/omeka/neatline/fullscreen/the-rebel-cities-project#records/112 (Accessed March 25, 2015)

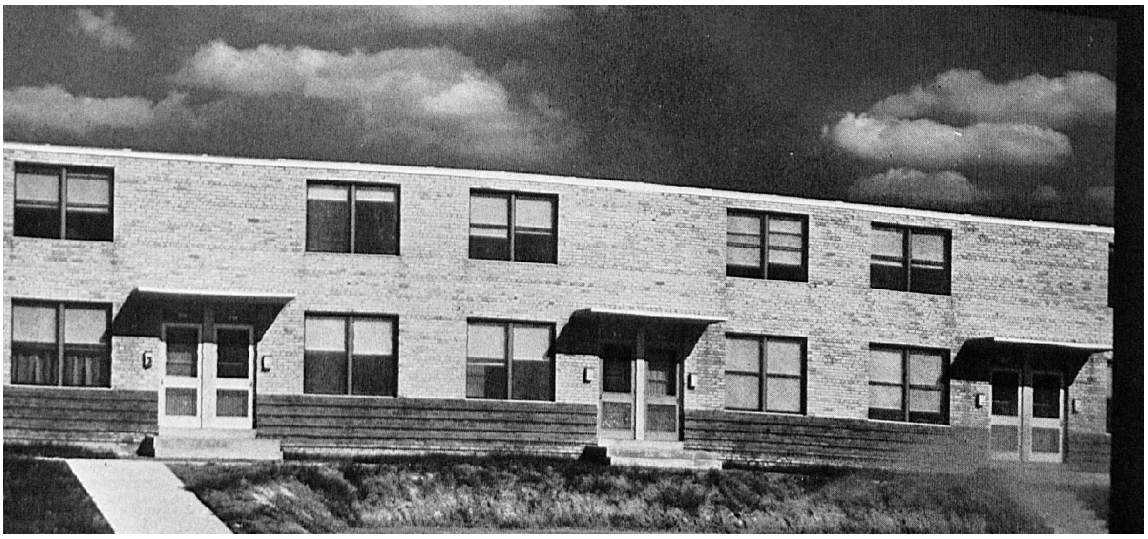

Figure 1.24: Exterior of Halifax Courts, Raleigh, NC

Source: The Architect's Work For the House." *Architectural Record* 89, no. 3 (1941): 90-93

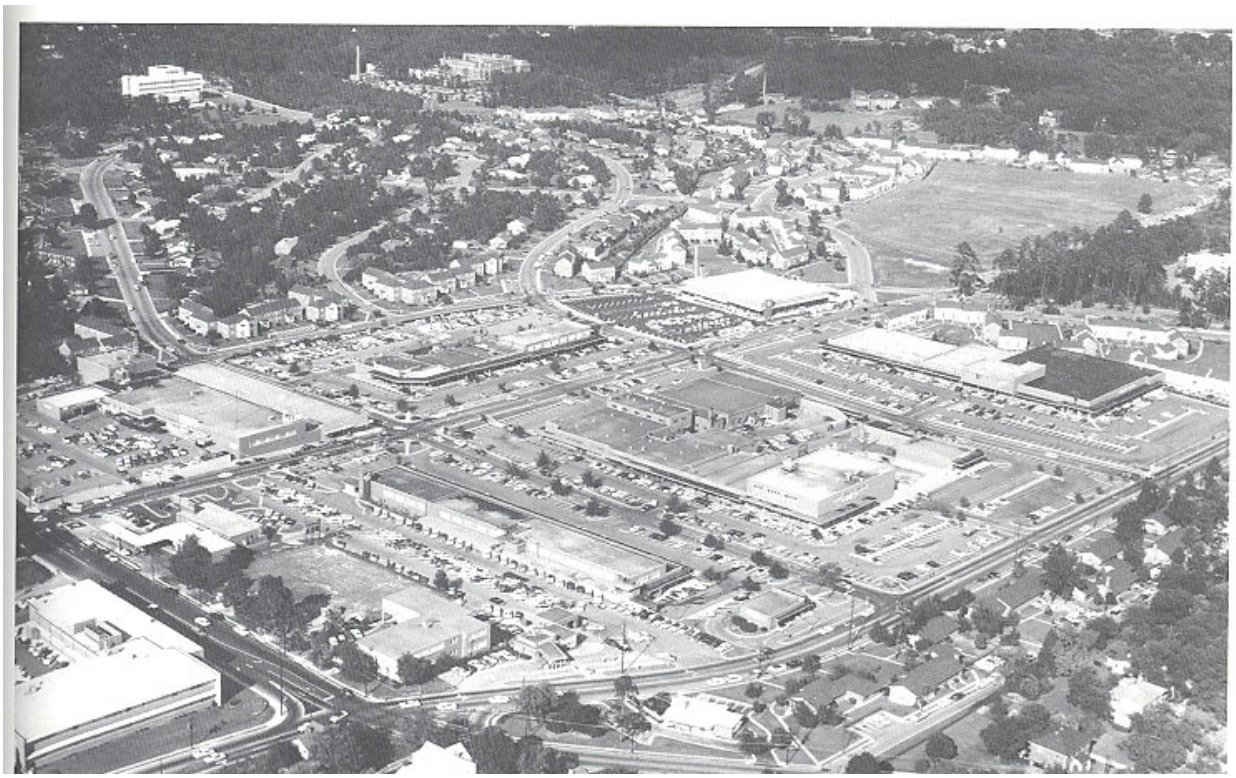

Figure 2.1: Aerial Photo of Cameron Village, Raleigh, NC

Source: North Carolina Room, Forsyth County Public Library, https://northcarolinaroom.wordpress.com/2015/02/08/in-the-beginning-there-was-thruway/ (Accessed March 25, 2015)

Figure 2.2: Map of Cameron Village—A. Shopping Center B. Broughton High School C. Single family homes, surrounded by ring of apartments.

Source: Networks of Architecture and Development: Raleigh, NC http://omeka.design.ncsu.edu/omeka/neatline/fullscreen/the-rebel-cities-project#records/112 (Accessed March 25, 2015)

Figure 2.3: Cameron Village Shopping Center, Raleigh, NC, ca. 1950's

Source: Durwood Barbour Collection of North Carolina Postcards (P077), North Carolina Collection Photographic Archives, Wilson Library, UNC-Chapel Hill.

Figure 2.4: Burnie W. Batchelor House, Raleigh, NC

Source: Source: Heather M. Wagner, “Cameron Village Historic District.” National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.

Figure 2.5: James Poyner House, Raleigh, NC

Source: Heather M. Wagner, "Cameron Village Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.

Figure 2.6: Longview Garden Brochure, ca. 1962

Source: Karen Benjamin, "Suburbanizing Jim Crow."

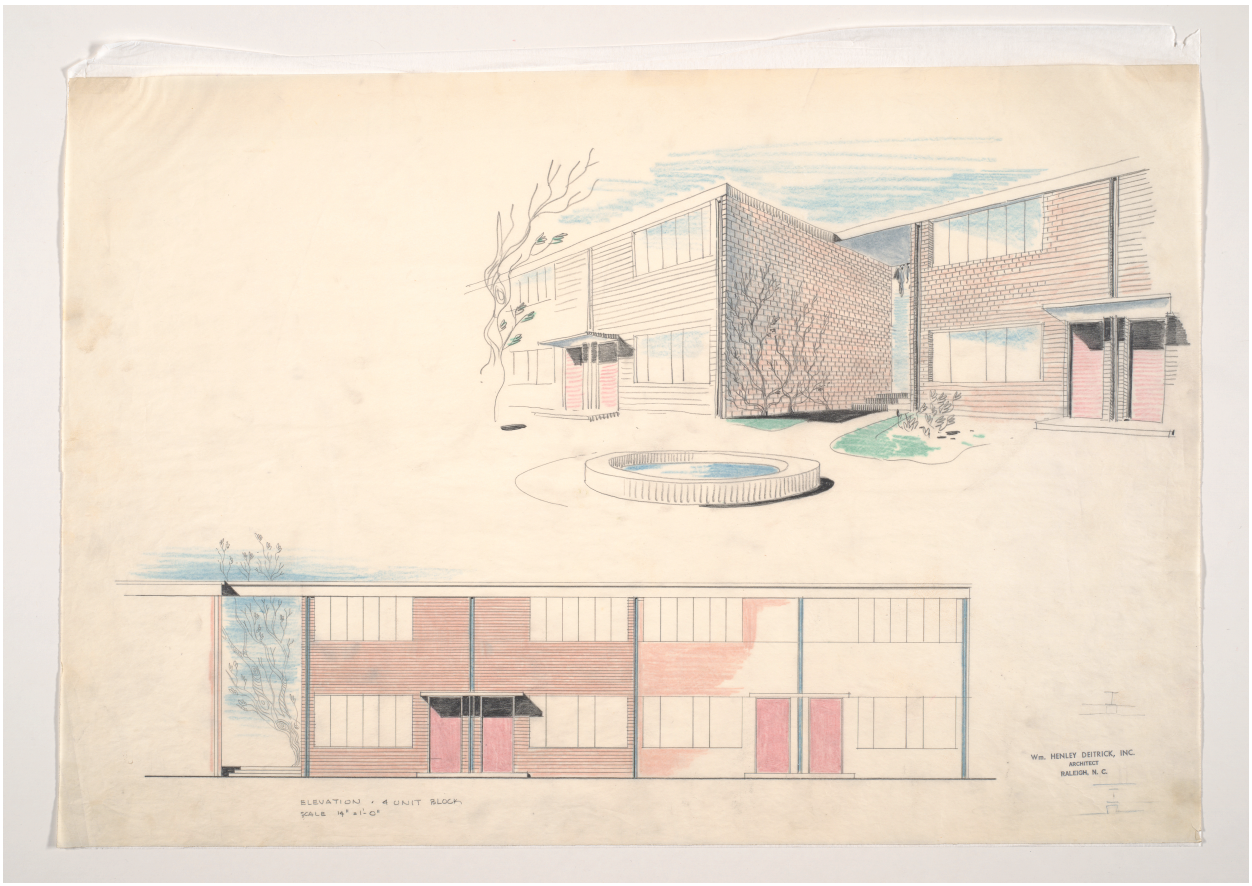

Figure 2.7: Matthew Nowicki, Rendering and Elevation of Halifax Courts Addition

Source: Guy E. Crampton and William Henley Deitrick papers and drawings, North Carolina State University Special Collections

Section IV Editorial Books—Features Amusements

The News and Observer

Section IV Editorial Books—Features Amusements

VOL. CLXIX NO. 143 RALEIGH, N. C., SUNDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 20, 1949 PRICE: [illegible]

School Houses Face Revolution

North Carolina to Put Comfort Into School House Plans

Figure 2.8: *Raleigh News and Observer* covers School Conference

Source: *Raleigh News & Observer*, November 20, 1949.

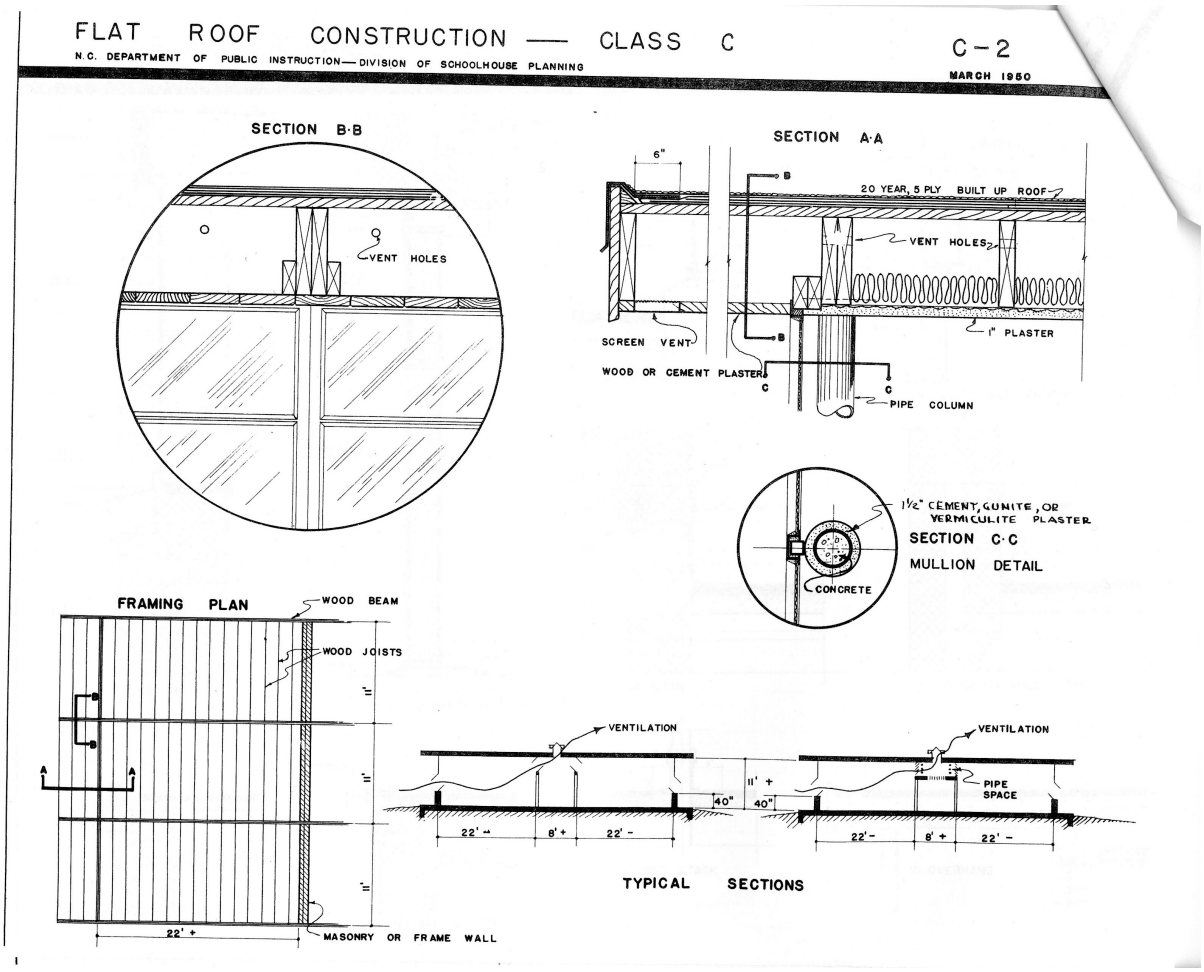

Figure 2.9: Edward "Terry" Waugh, Flat Roof Construction Detail, "School Design Standards", North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 1950

Source: Edward Waugh Papers, North Carolina State Archive

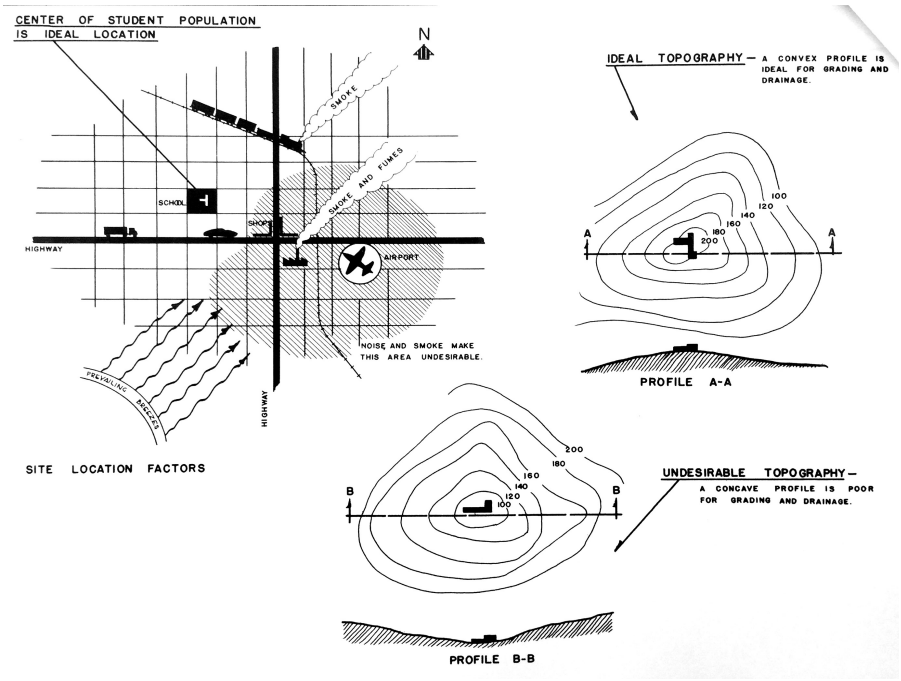

Figure 2.10: Edward “Terry” Waugh, Ideal Location and Topography Diagrams, “School Design Standards”, North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 1950

Source: Edward Waugh Papers, North Carolina State Archive

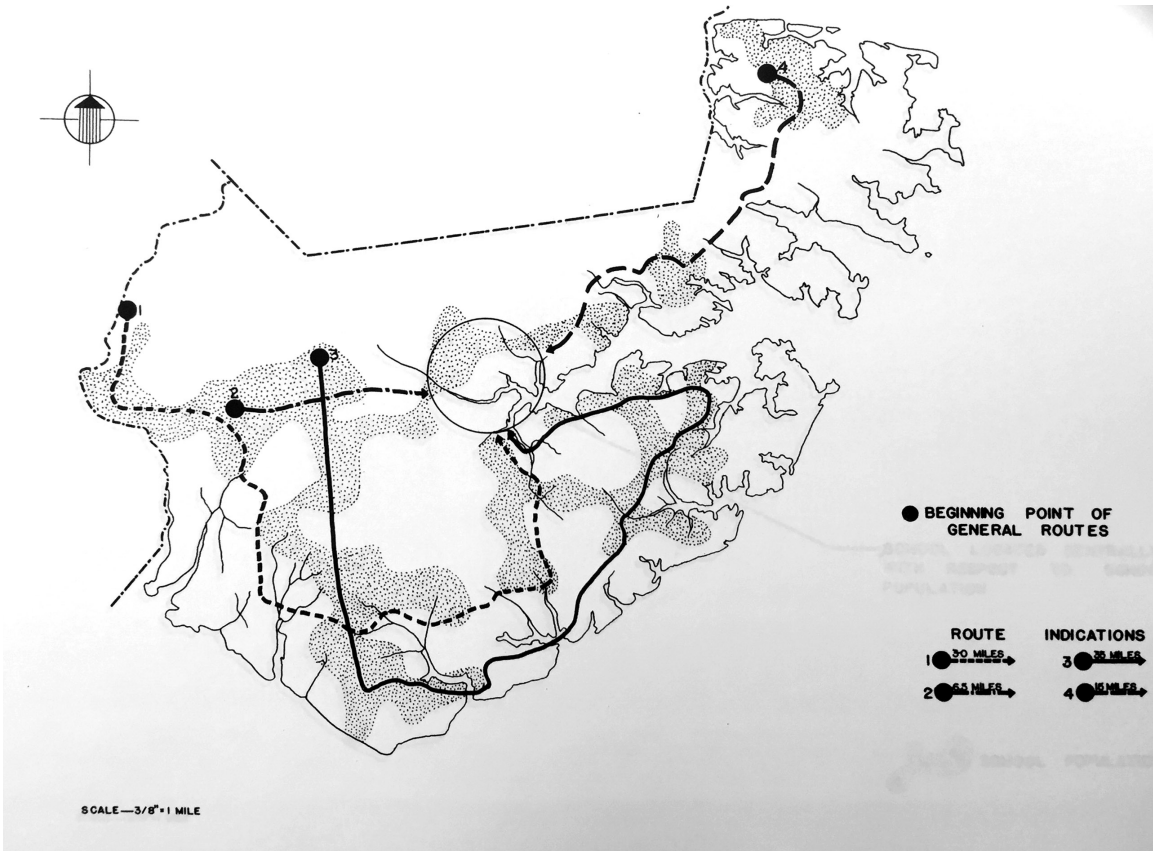

Figure 2.11: Edward "Terry" Waugh, Bussing Routes Diagram,"School Design Standards", North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 1950

Source: Edward Waugh Papers, North Carolina State Archive

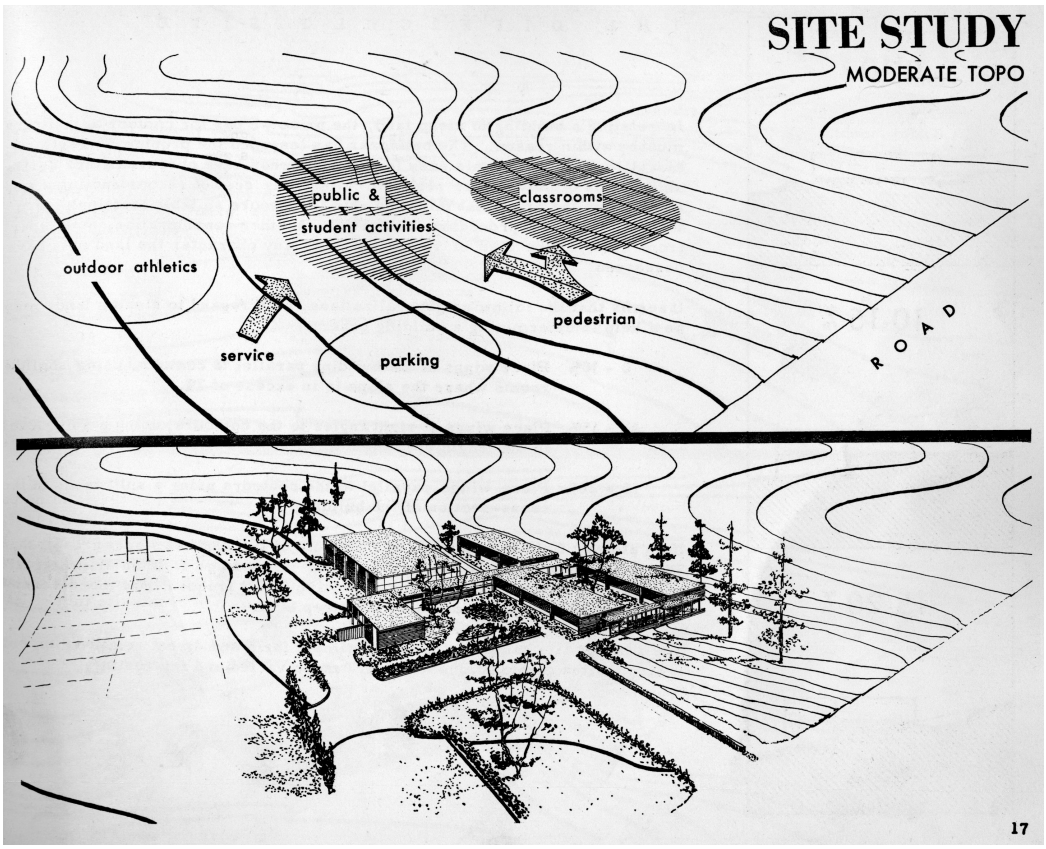

Figure 2.12: Moderate Topography Site Study

Source: North Carolina, Division of School Planning, and Lawrence A. Enersen. *School Design*.

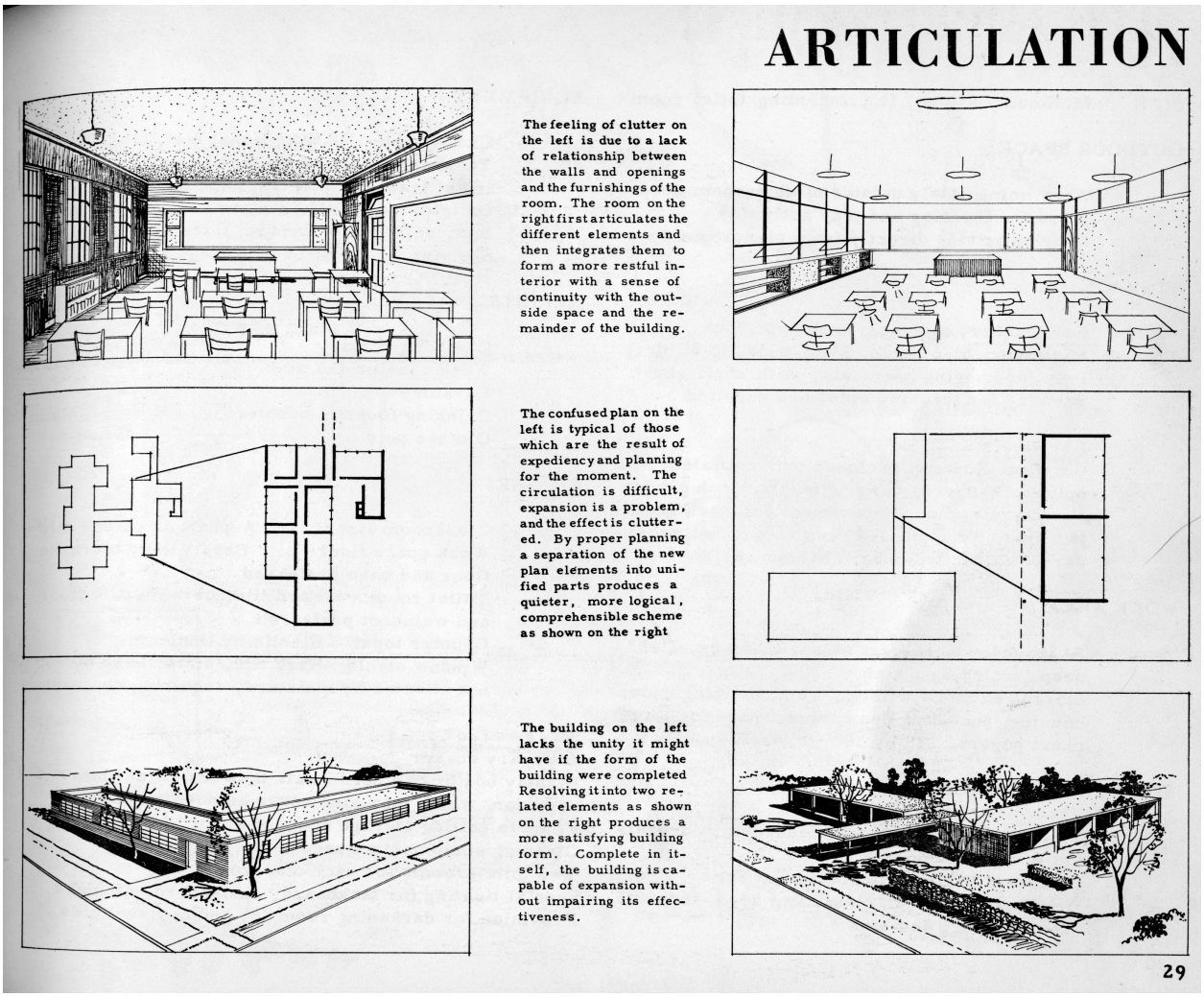

Figure 2.13: Classroom Articulation

Source: North Carolina, Division of School Planning, and Lawrence A. Enersen. *School Design*.

Figure 2.14: Exterior Sherwood-Bates Elementary

Source: “Experimental School Tests Top-Lighted Classrooms” *Architectural Forum* (Feb. 1952)

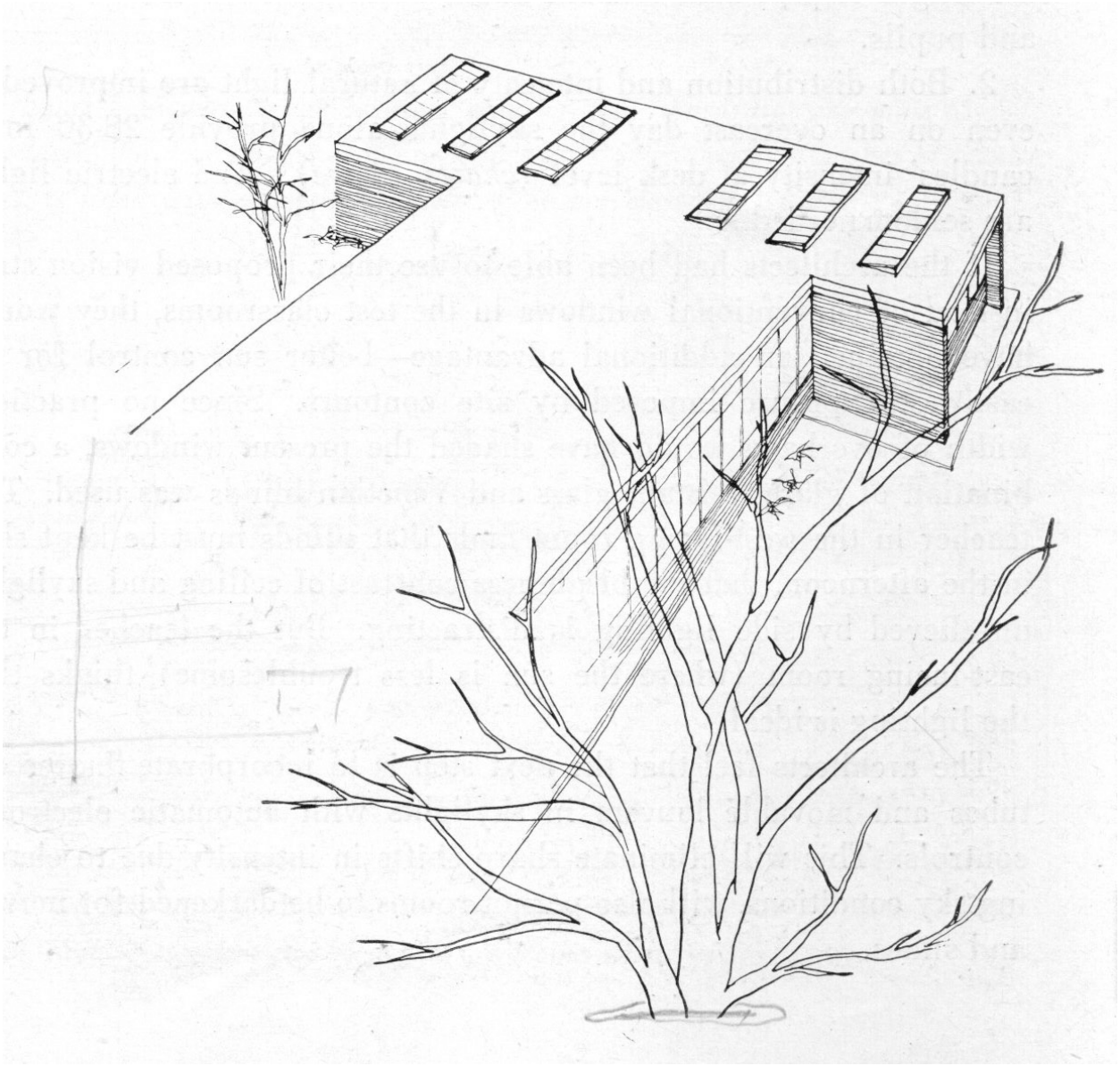

Figure 2.15: Matthew Nowicki, Sketch of experimental day-lighting system

Source: "Experimental School Tests Top-Lighted Classrooms" *Architectural Forum* (Feb. 1952)

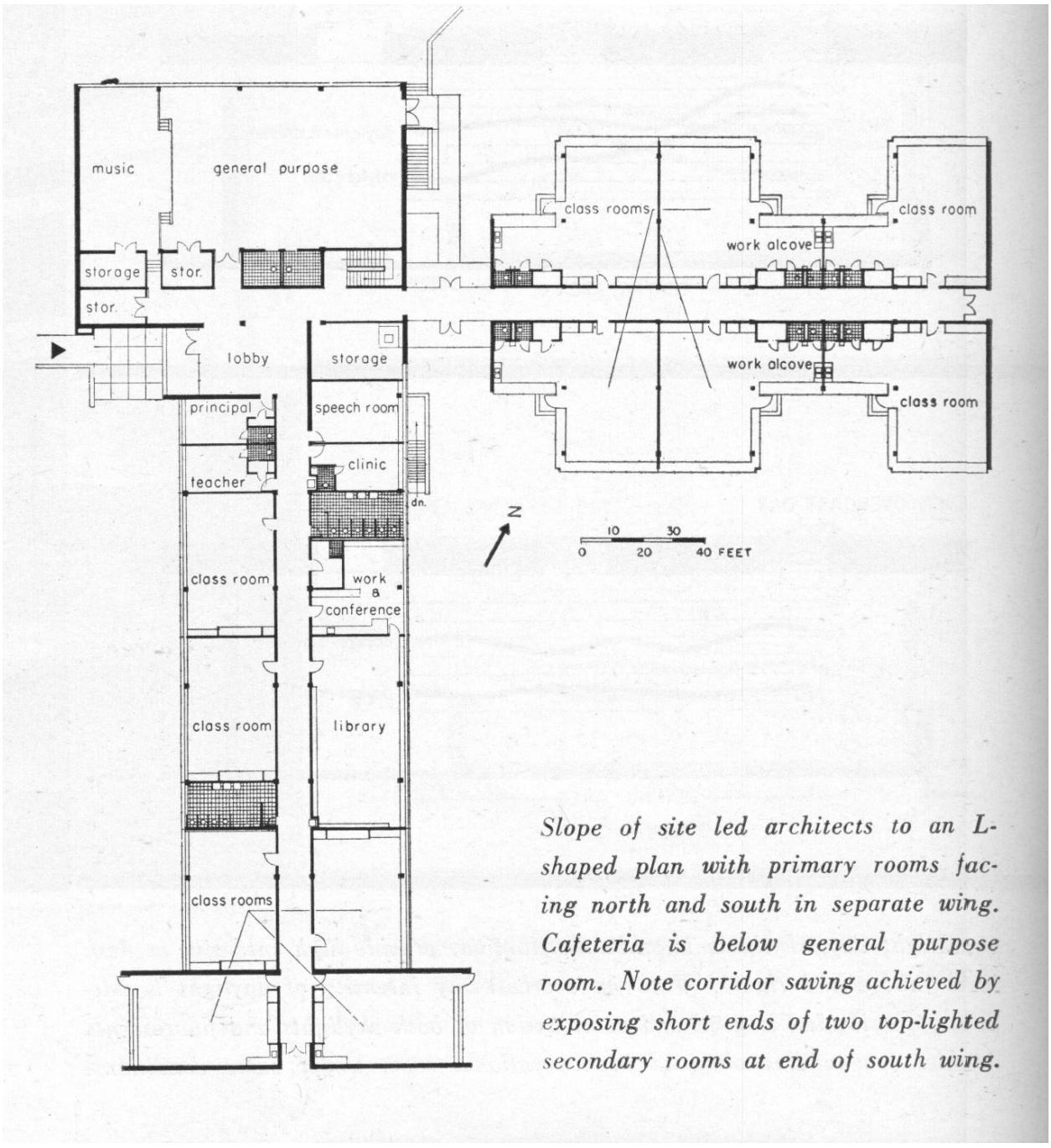

Figure 2.16: Plan of Sherwood-Bates Elementary

Source: "Experimental School Tests Top-Lighted Classrooms" *Architectural Forum* (Feb. 1952)

Figure 2.17: Classroom interior, Sherwood-Bates Elementary

Source: "Experimental School Tests Top-Lighted Classrooms" *Architectural Forum* (Feb. 1952)

Figure 2.18: Edward Waugh, Lacy Elementary, Raleigh, NC

Source: North Carolina Modernist House, http://www.trianglemodernisthouses.com (Accessed March 25, 2015)

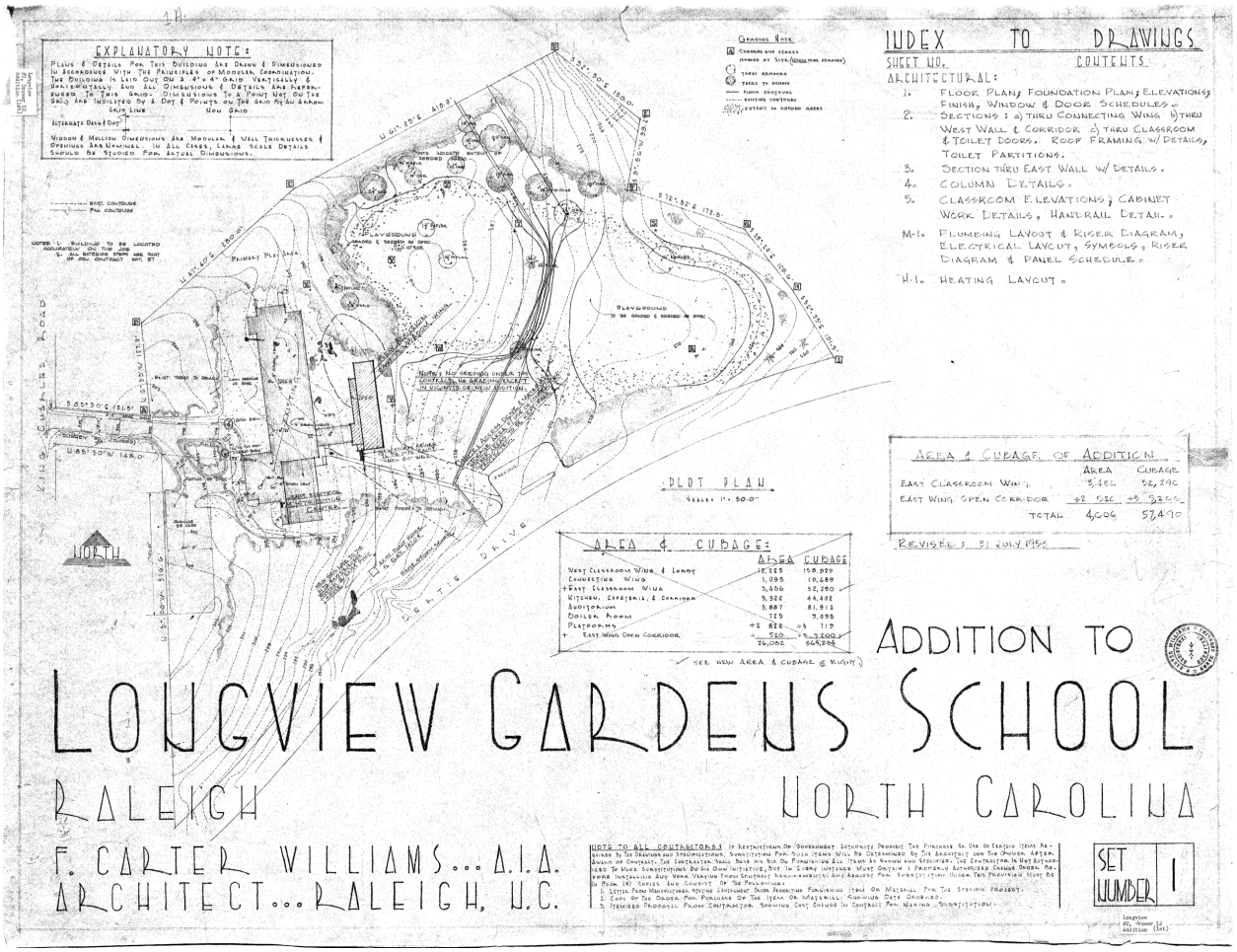

Figure 2.19: F. Carter Williams, Plot plan of Longview, Raleigh, NC

Source: Courtesy of the Wake County School System

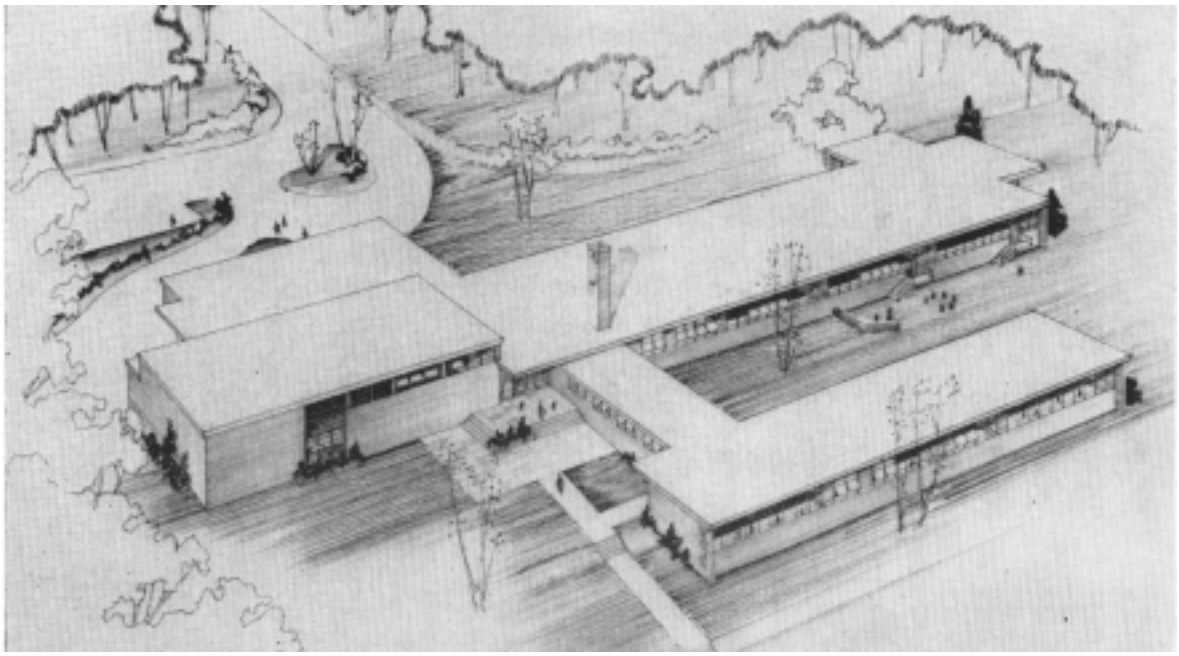

Figure 2.20: F. Carter Williams, Rendering of Longview Gardens Elementary

Source: *Southern Architect*, October 1954

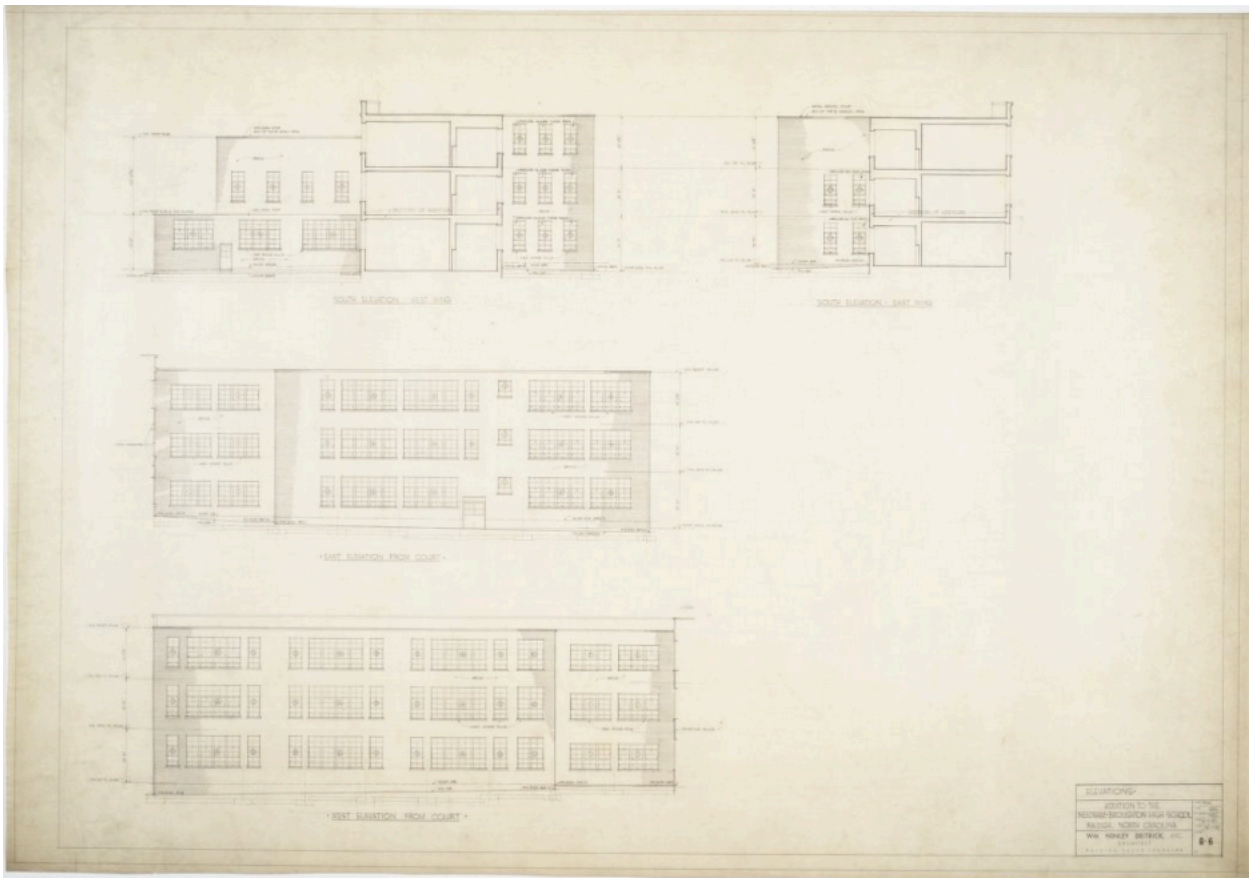

Figure 2.21: William Henley Deitrick, Addition to Broughton High

Source: Guy E. Crampton and William Henley Deitrick papers and drawings, North Carolina State University Special Collections

Figure 2.22: Albert Haskins, J.W. Ligon Jr.-Sr. High School, Raleigh, NC, 1968

Source: Source: J.W. Ligon High School Yearbook, “The Echo,” 1968 via The North Carolina Digitial Heritage Center

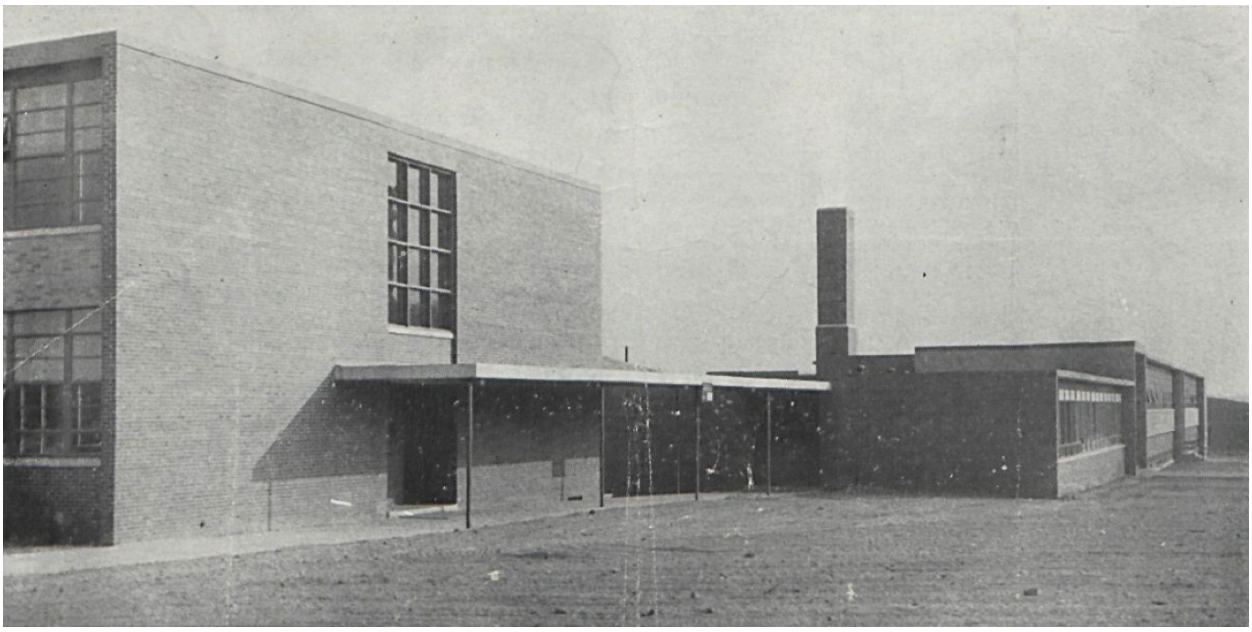

Figure 2.23: Photo Ligon from dedication program

Source: J.W. Ligon High School Program, Dedication, Digital NC
http://library.digitalnc.org/cdm/ref/collection/ncmemory/id/34438 (Accessed March 25, 2015)

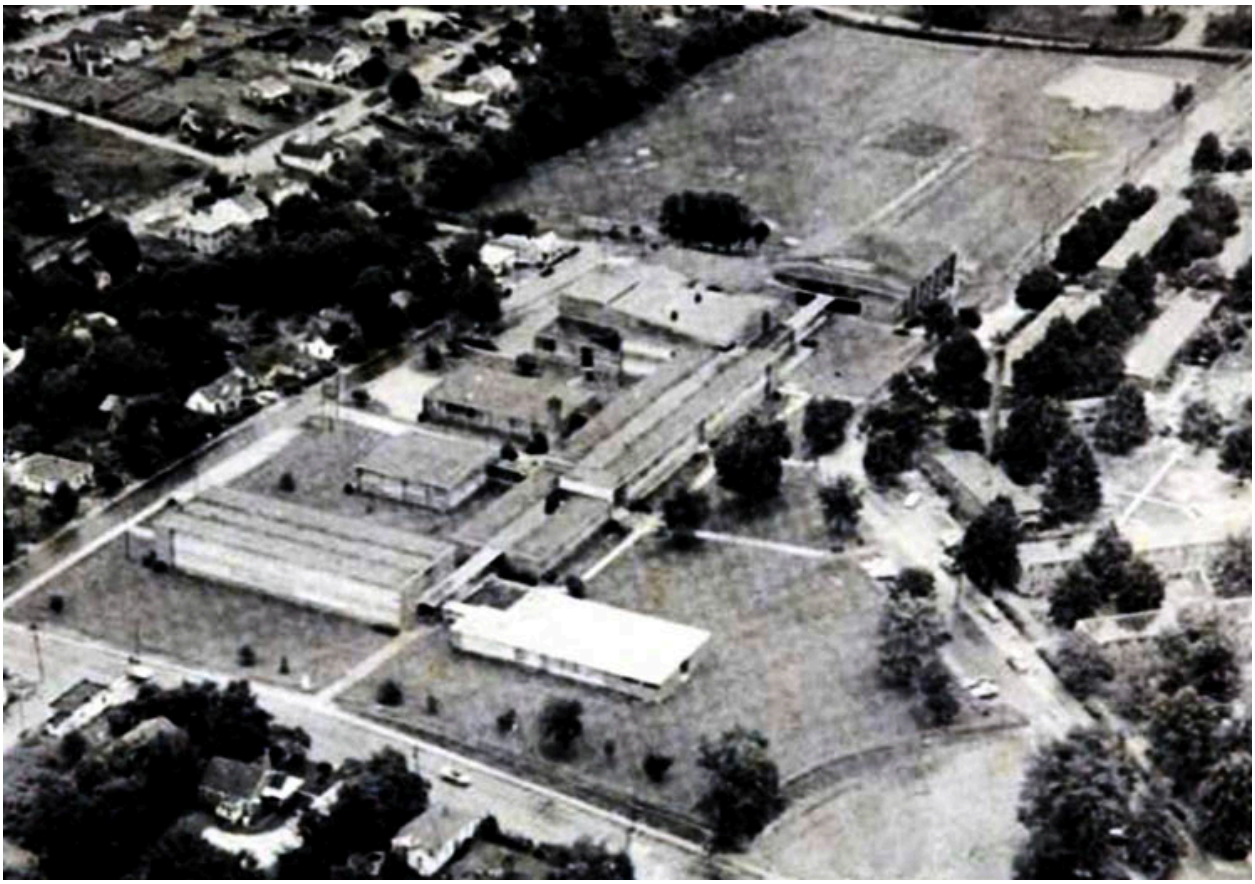

Figure 2.24: Aerial Photo of Ligon (shown after addition of classroom building not shown in following plan)

Source: “Capturing the Past to Guide the Future: The Continuing Legacy of Ligon High School” https://www.ncsu.edu/ligon/about/history/chavis.htm (Accessed March 25, 2015)

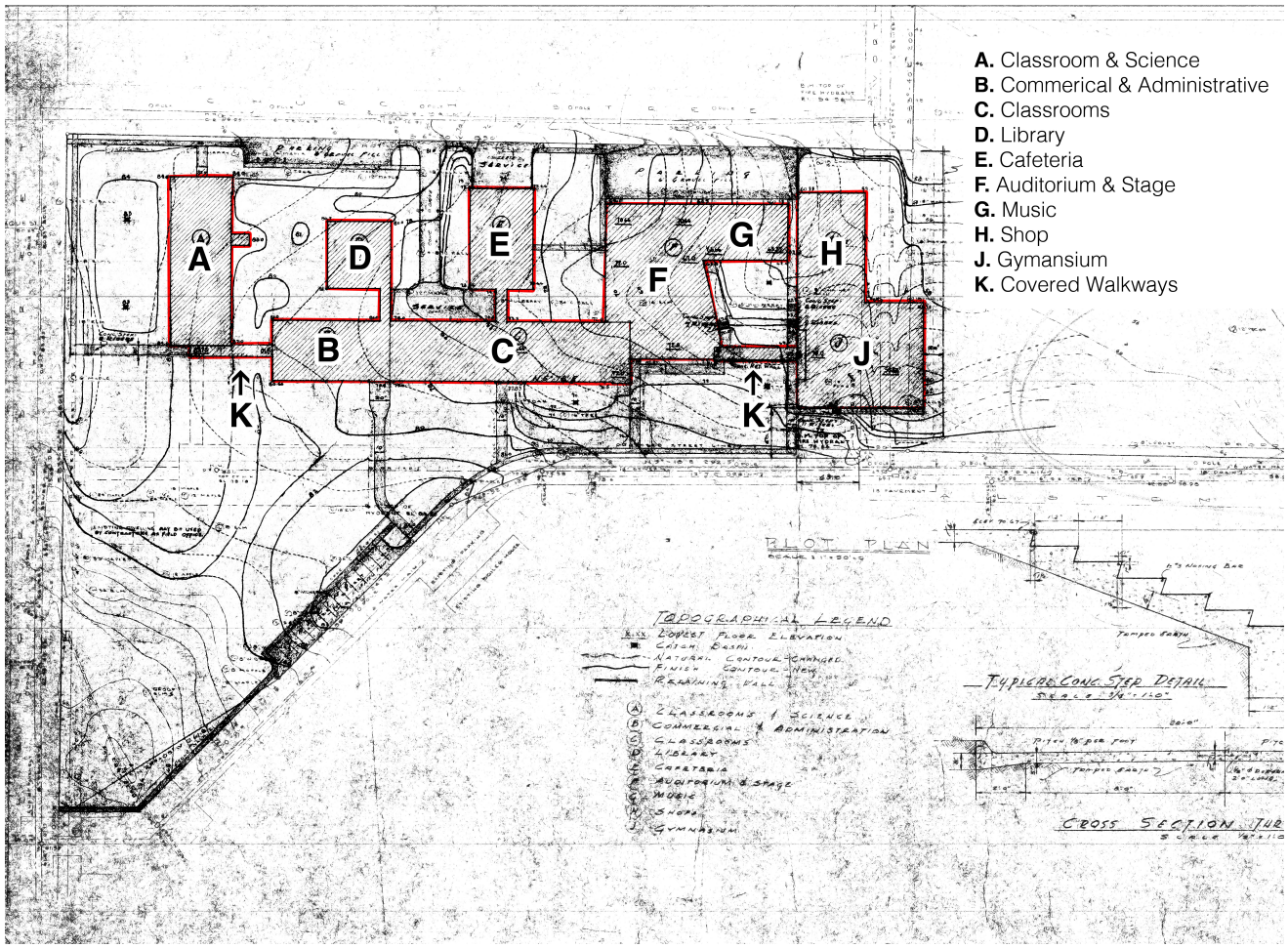

Figure 2.25: Plot plan of Ligon, additional annotations added by author

Source: Courtesy of the Wake County School System

Figure 2.26: Interior Corridor with Students at Ligon

Source: J.W. Ligon High School Yearbook, "The Echo," 1968 via The North Carolina Digital Heritage Center

Figure 2.27: Mechanics shop at Ligon, 1964

Source: J.W. Ligon High School Yearbook, "The Echo," 1964 via The North Carolina Digital Heritage Center, http://www.digitalnc.org/collections/yearbooks/#highschool (Accessed March 27, 2015)

Figure 2.28: “Trowel Trades” Course at Ligon High, 1966

Source: J.W. Ligon High School Yearbook, “The Echo,” 1966 via The North Carolina Digital Heritage Center, http://www.digitalnc.org/collections/yearbooks/#highschool (Accessed March 27, 2015)

Figure 2.29: Children in front of Ligon Jr.-Sr. High at dedication event

Source: "Ligon School Dedicated." *Raleigh New & Observer*, November 9, 1953, 24

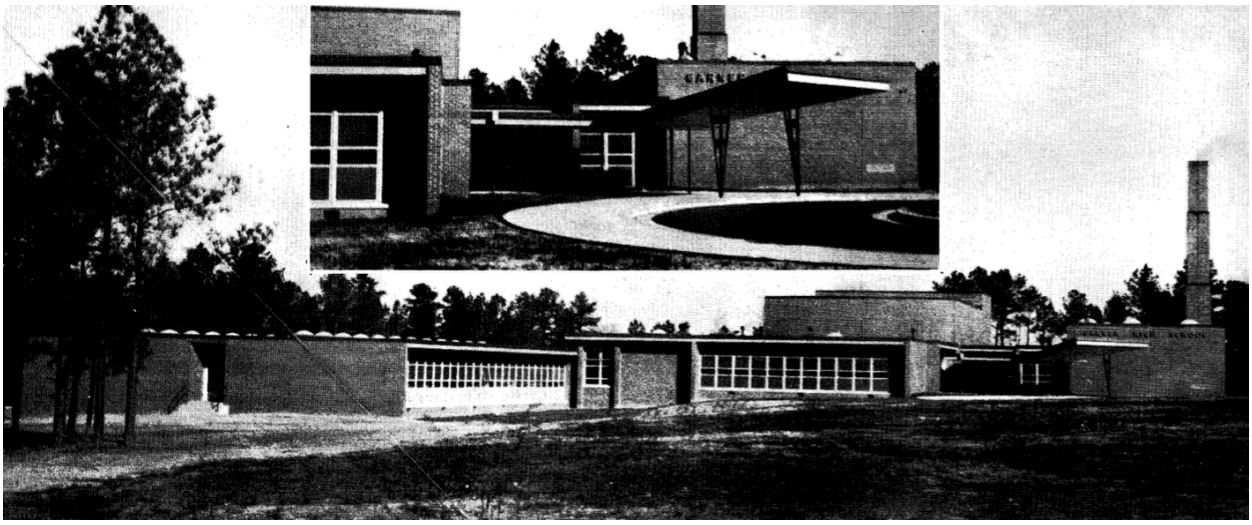

Figure 2.30: William Henley Deitrick, Garner High, Garner, N.C.

Source: High School, Wake County, N.C." *Southern Architec*t, November 1958.

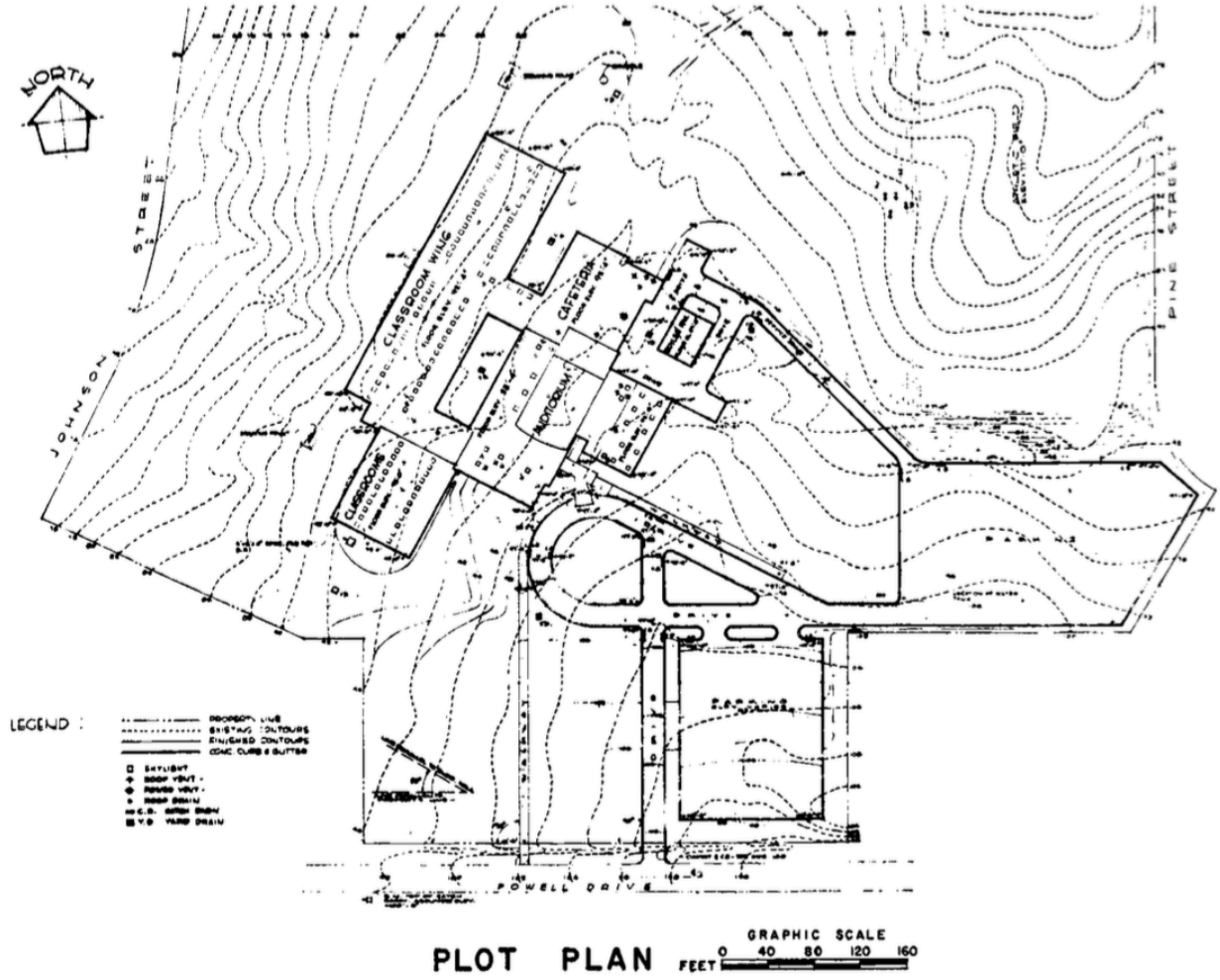

Figure 2.31: William Henley Deitrick, Plot Plan of Garner High, Garner, N.C.

Source: High School, Wake County, N.C." *Southern Architec*t, November 1958.

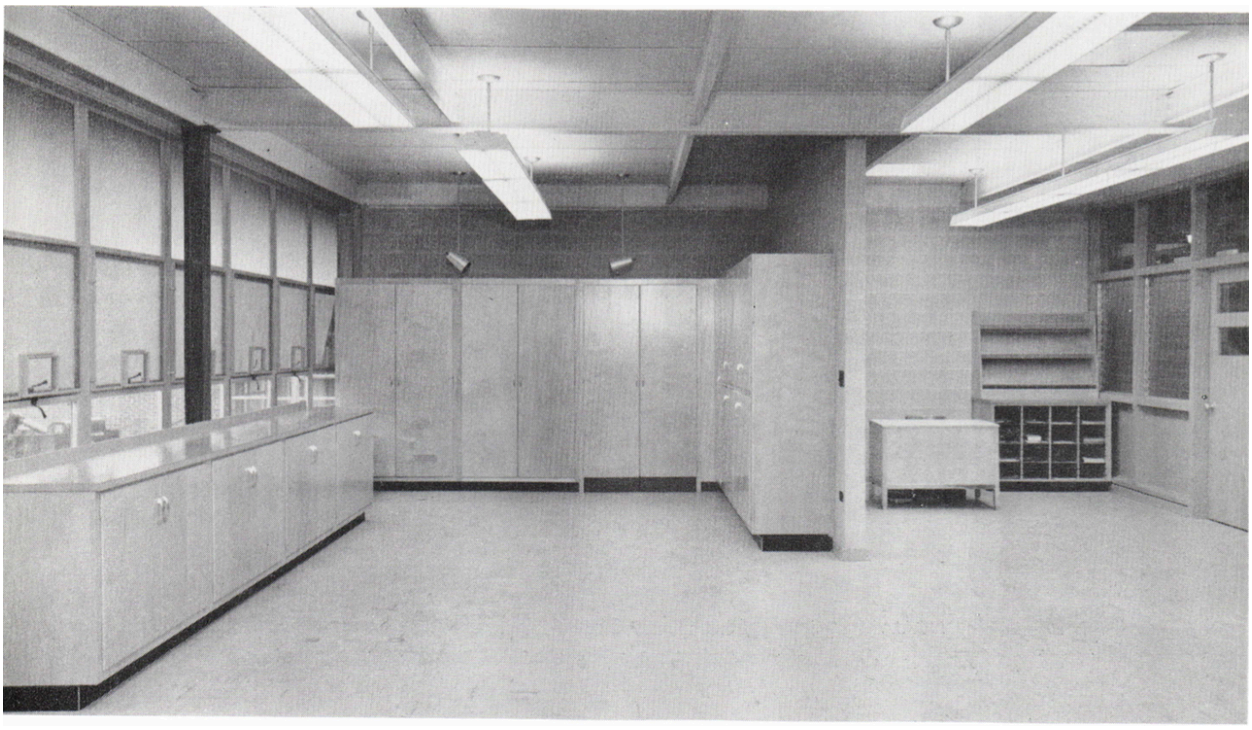

Figure 2.32: Interior of Garner High, Garner, N.C.

Source: High School, Wake County, N.C." *Southern Architec*t, November 1958.

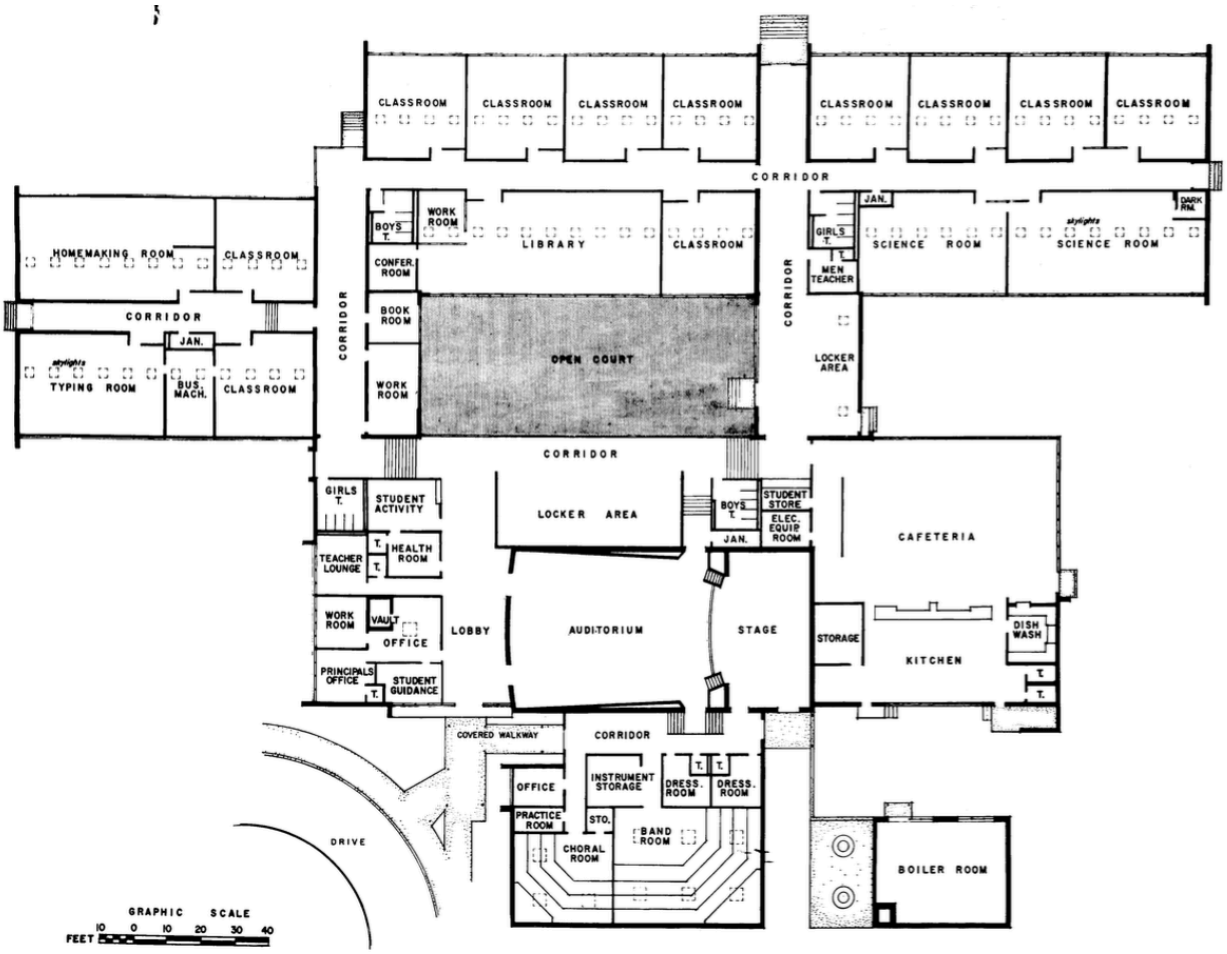

Figure 2.33: Plan of Garner High, Garner, N.C.

Source: High School, Wake County, N.C." *Southern Architec*t, November 1958.

Figure 3.1: Governor Luther Hodges (center) with Henry Kamphoefner (left) and Greensboro Architect, Edward Loewenstein (right) at Architectural Foundation Day, March 29, 1955

Source: "School of Design Lauded by Governor Hodges." *Southern Architect,* (April, 1955)

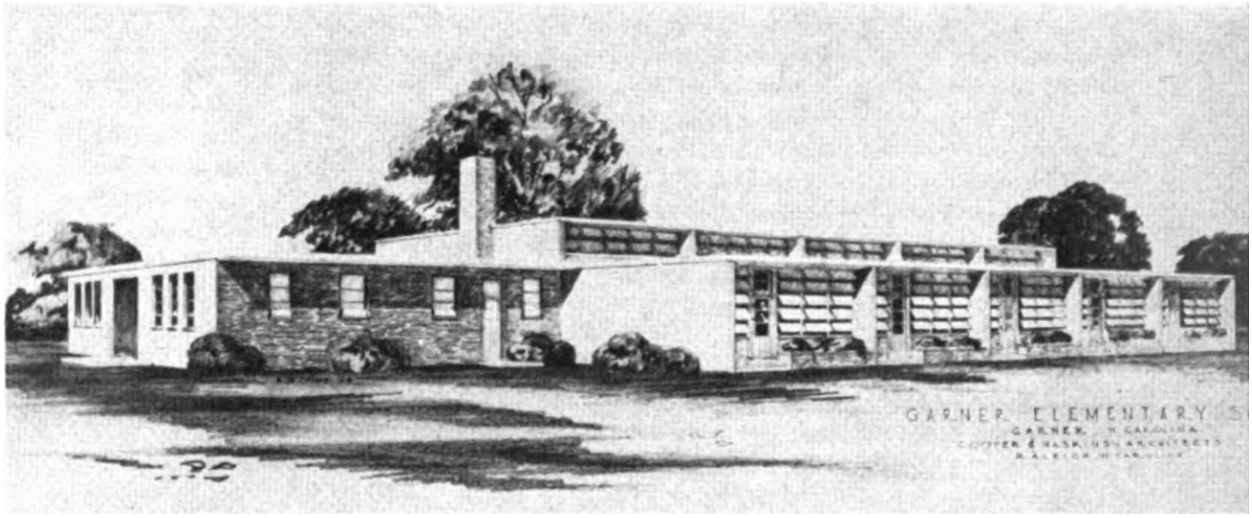

Figure 3.2: F. Carter Williams, Rendering of Garner Elementary

Source: William Caudill, *Toward Better School Design*

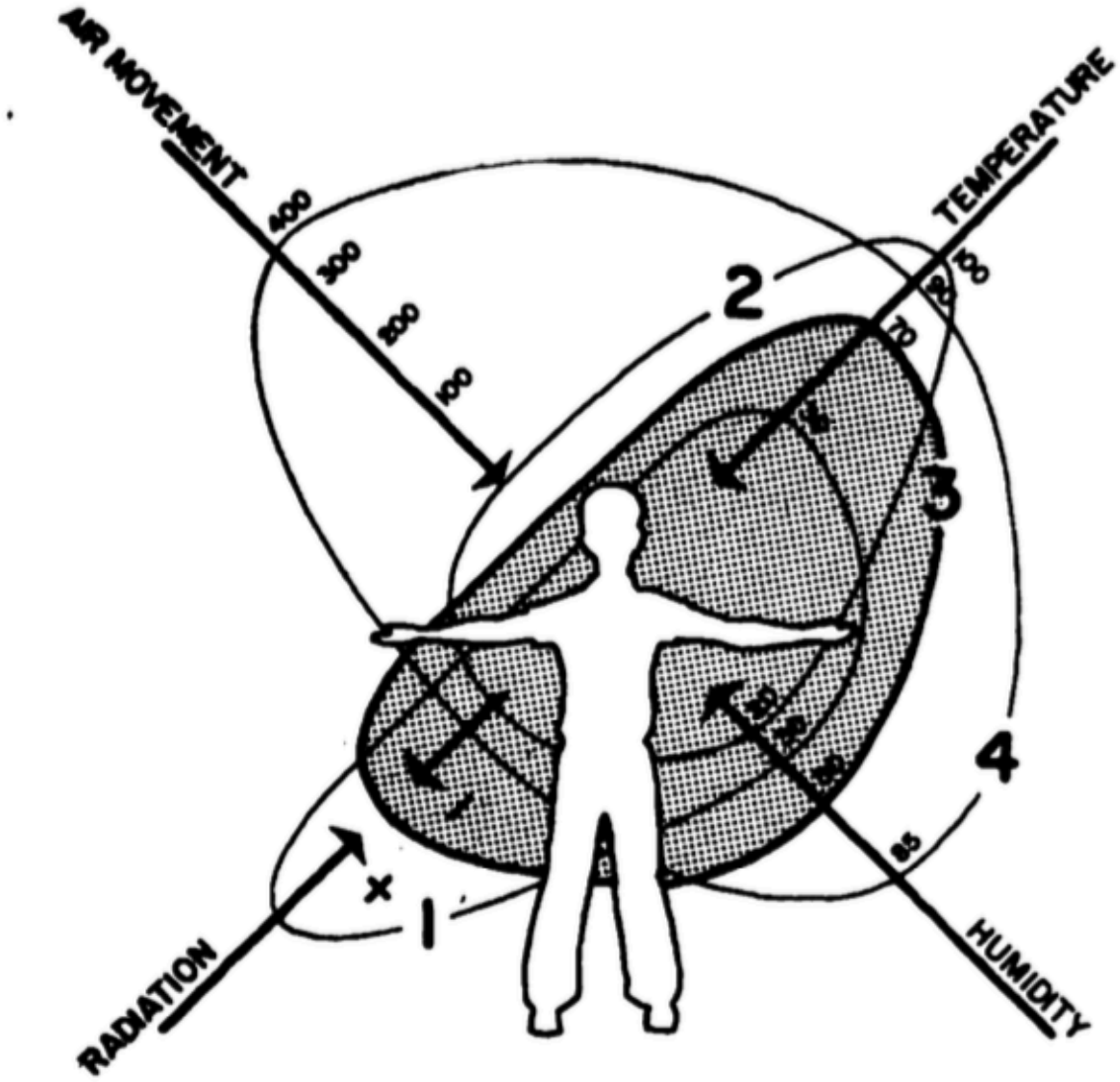

Figure 3.3: Thermal Needs Diagram

Source: William Wayne Caudill, *Towards Better School Design*

Figure 3.4: Diagram of physical/emotional needs

Source: William Wayne Caudill, *Towards Better School Design*

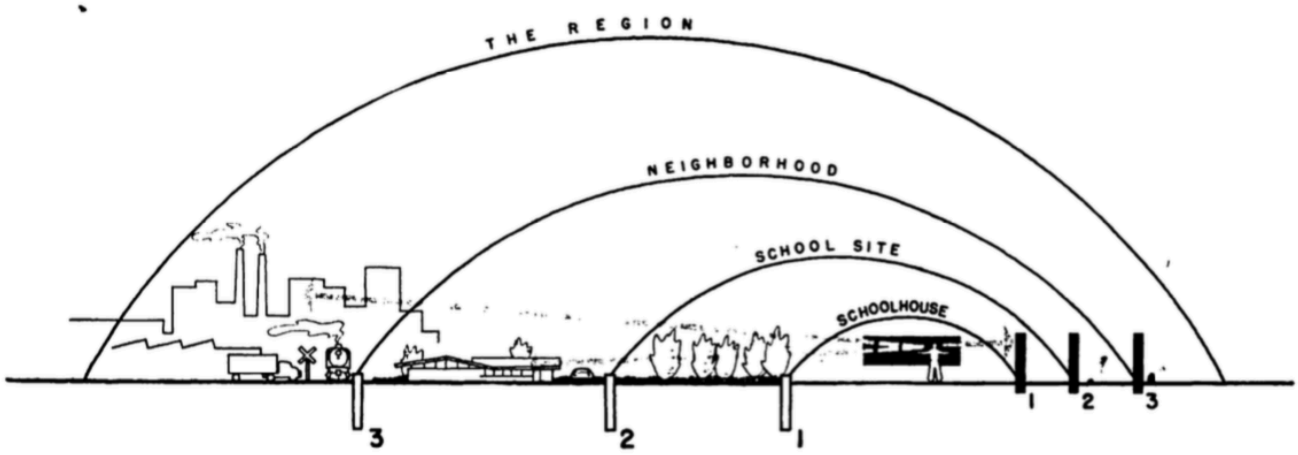

Figure 3.5: Boundaries diagram

Source: William Wayne Caudill, *Towards Better School Design*

Figure 3.6: G. Milton Small, Carolina Country Club, Raleigh, NC

Source: North Carolina Modernist House, http://www.trianglemodernisthouses.com (Accessed March 27, 2015)

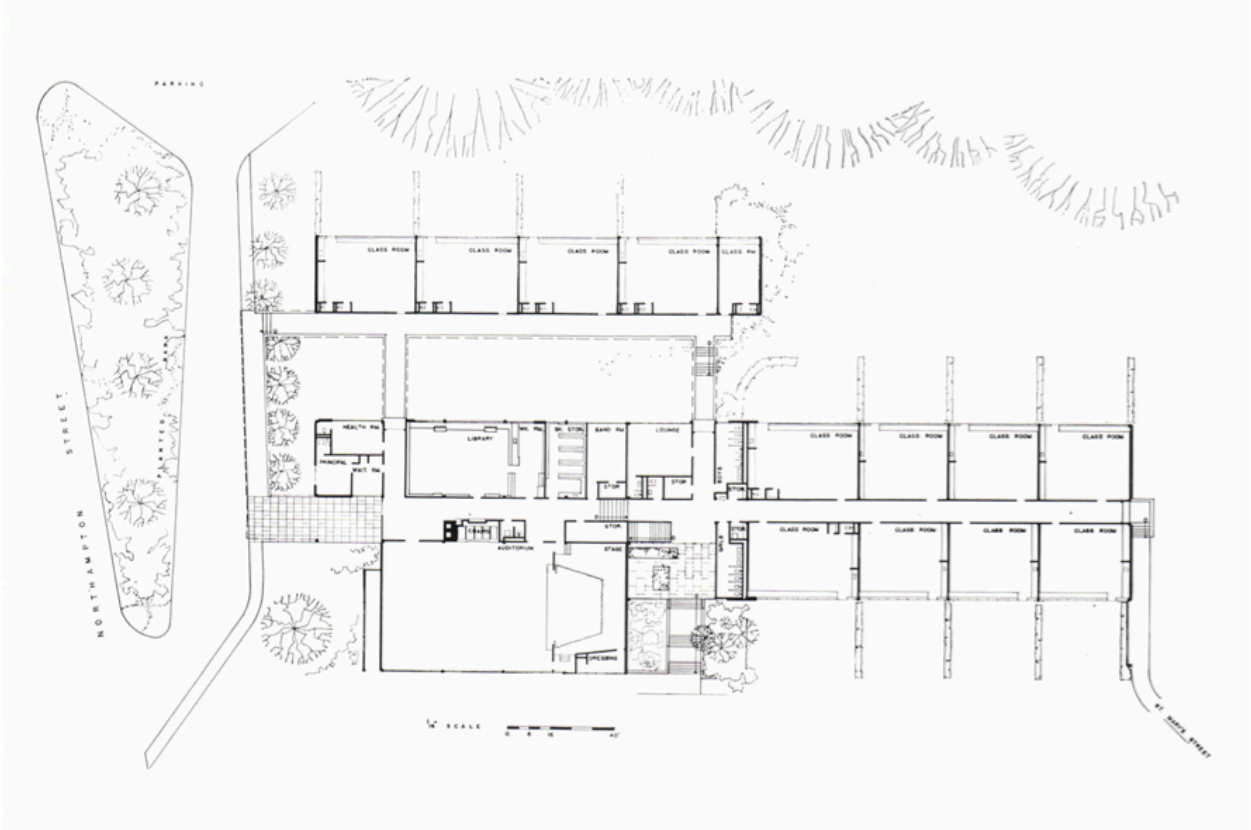

Figure 3.7: Albert Haskins, Plan of Albert Root

Source: "Suburban Elementary School" *Southern Architect* (August 1957)

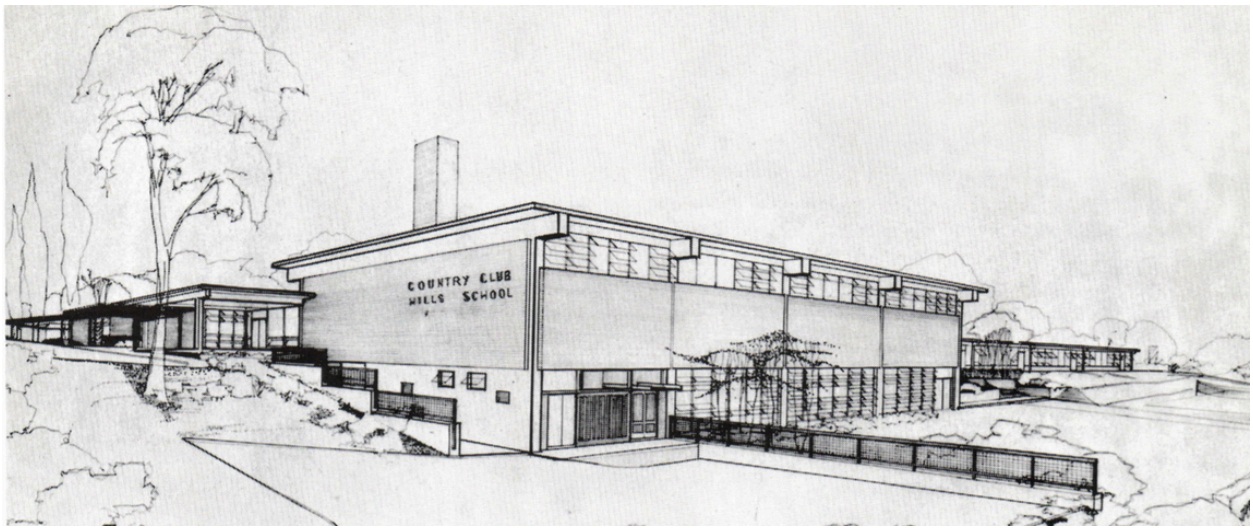

Figure 3.8: Rendering of Albert Root Elementary (initially named Country Club Hills)

Source: "Suburban Elementary School" *Southern Architect* (August 1957)

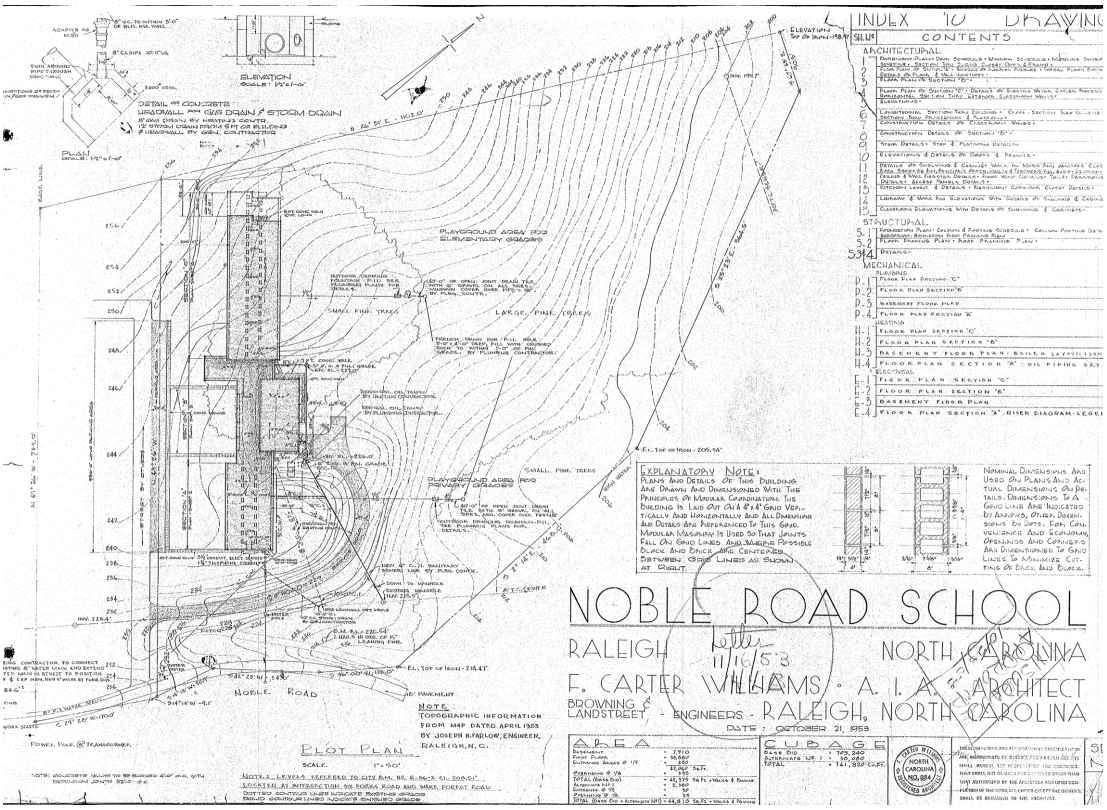

Figure 3.9: F. Carter Williams, J.Y. Joyner plot plan

Source: Courtesy of the Wake County School System

Figure 3.10: J.Y. Joyner Elementary, Raleigh, NC

Source: Wake County Public School System, http://www.wcpss.net/joyneres (Accessed March 27, 2015)

Fig. 3.11: PTA headquarters, Raleigh, NC, 1960

Source: *Southern Architect*, October 1960

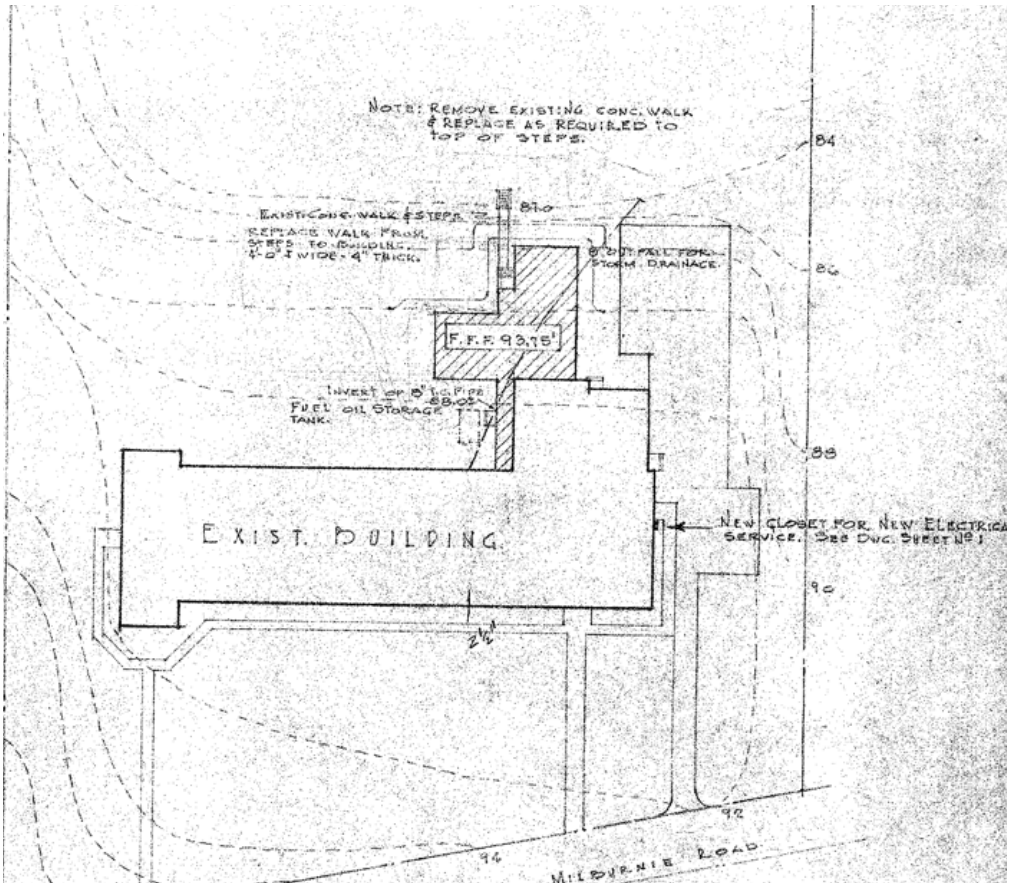

Figure 3.12: Plot plan of Mary E. Phillips Elementary, shown with a then-planned addition

Source: Courtesy of the Wake County School System

Figure 3.13: Aerial photo of snow-covered Oberlin Road with Daniels (top) and Sherwood-Bates (below)

Source: North Carolina State Archive Flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/north-carolina-state-archives/12344275385/ (Accessed March 27, 2015)

Figure 3.14: The front of Daniels Junior High

Source: Still from *Exhausted Remedies: Joe Holt Story* (1995)

Figure 3.15: Rear portion of Daniels Junior High (now Daniels Middle School)

Source: Photo by Author (September 7, 2015)

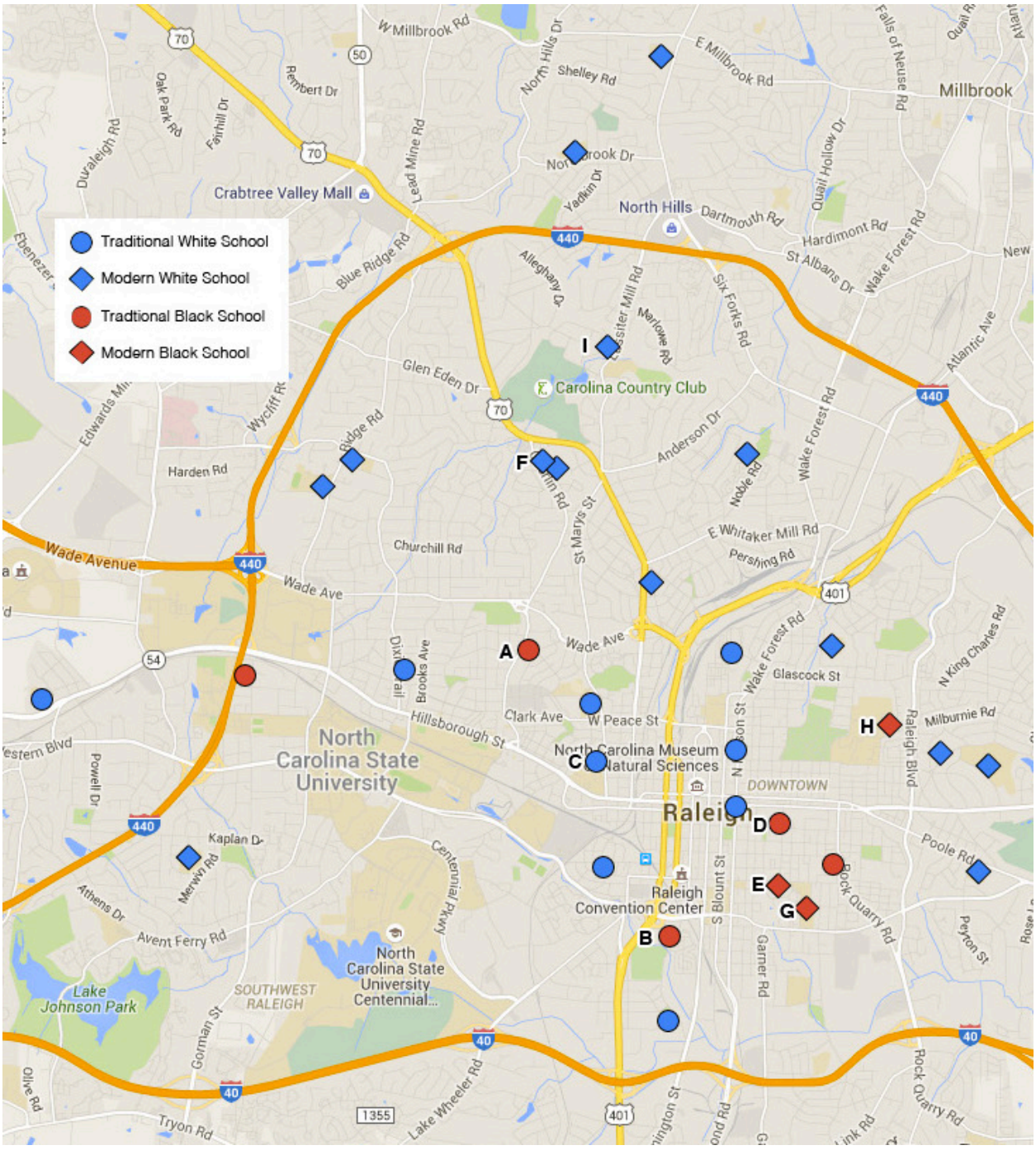

Figure 3.16: Map of Schools as of 1964—A. Oberlin School B. Washington Graded and High School C. Broughton High D. Thompson Elementary E. Crosby-Garfield Elementary F. Sherwood-Bates Elementary (Daniels Jr. High adjacent) G. J.W. Ligon High H. Philips Elementary I. Albert Root Elementary

Source: created by author using Google maps based information in the North Carolina Educational Directory 1964-1965